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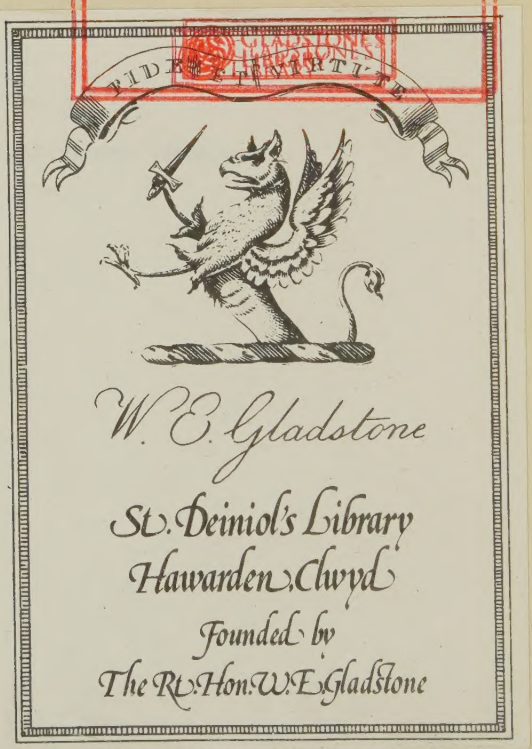

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VOL. II

TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE . SERIES VI
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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

VOL. II 313–461 A.D.

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Edited by B. J. KIDD, D.D.

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ABBREVIATIONS

C.S.E.L. = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.*
J.T.S. = *Journal of Theological Studies.*
L.F. = *Library of the Fathers*, Parker & Co.
N. & P.-N.F. = *Nicene & Post-Nicene Fathers*, Parker & Co.
P.G. = Migne, *Patrologia Græca.*
P.L. = Migne, *Patrologia Latina.*

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From Eusebius, *Bishop of Cæsarea*, 314–†40, *V.C.* I. li.–lvi.

[c. li.] . . . He . . . enacted a law, to the effect that the bishops should never on any account hold communication with each other, nor should any one of them absent himself on a visit to a neighbouring church; nor, lastly, should the holding of synods, or councils for the consideration of affairs of common interest, be permitted. Now this was clearly a pretext for displaying his malice against us. For we were compelled either to violate the law, and thus be amenable to punishment; or else, by compliance with its injunctions, to nullify the statutes of the Church; inasmuch as it is impossible to bring important questions to a satisfactory adjustment except by means of synods. . . .

[c. lii.] And whereas Constantine, the friend of God, had granted to His worshippers freedom of access to the imperial palaces—this enemy of God, in a spirit the very reverse of this, expelled thence all Christians subject to his authority. . . .

[c. liii.] . . . He passed a second law which enjoined that men should not appear with women in the houses of prayer; and forbade women to attend the sacred schools of virtue, or to receive instruction from the bishops, directing the appointment of women to be teachers of their own sex. These regulations being received with general ridicule, he devised other means for effecting the ruin of the churches.

He ordered that the usual congregations of the people should be held in the open country without the gates, alleging that the open air without the city was far more suitable for a multitude than the houses of prayer within the walls.

[c. liv.] Failing, however, to obtain obedience in this respect also, at length he threw off the mask, and gave orders that those who held military commissions, in the several cities of the empire, should be deprived of their respective commands, in case of their refusal to offer sacrifices to the demons.

[c. lvi.] . . . The final efforts of his fury appeared in his open hostility to the churches, and he directed his attacks against the bishops themselves, whom he regarded as his worst adversaries, bearing special enmity to those men whom the great and pious Emperor [Constantine] treated as his friends. Accordingly, he spent on us the utmost of his fury.—*N. & P.-N.F.* i. 496–8.

No. 2.—Constantine's Order to Eusebius for Copies of the Scriptures

From his letter in Eus. *V.C.* IV. xxxvi.

It happens, through the favouring providence of God our Saviour, that great numbers have united themselves to the most holy Church in the city which is called by my name. It seems therefore highly requisite, since that city is rapidly advancing in prosperity in all other respects, that the number of churches should also be increased. Do you therefore receive with all readiness my determination on this behalf. I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the Sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practised in their art. The Catholicus[1] of the diocese[2] has also received instructions from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things

[1] Financial administrator.

[2] One of the [then] twelve larger divisions of the Empire [after 376, thirteen].

necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be completed with as little delay as possible. You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies, when fairly written, will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your church may be entrusted with this service: who, on his arrival here, shall experience my liberality. God preserve you, beloved brother.—*N. & P.-N.F.* i. 549.

No. 3.—Constantine's Suppression of Private Divination, February 1, 319

From *Nullus haruspex*, ap. *Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 1; edd. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, i. 459 (Berolini, 1895).

The Emperor Constantine Augustus to Maximus [Prefect of the City].

Let no soothsayer approach the threshold of his neighbour, not even for some other cause [than that of soothsaying]; but let friendship, however long-standing, with men of this class be put away. Let the soothsayer who approaches his neighbour's house be burnt; and let him who invites him, whether by persuasion or offer of reward, be deprived of his goods and banished to an island. Those, who desire to follow their own superstition, will be at liberty to practise the rites proper to it in public. He who accuses a man of this offence is, in our judgment, no informer. On the contrary, he is one who deserves a reward. Given at Rome, on the first of February in the consulate of Constantine Augustus (his fifth) and Licinius Cæsar.—K.

No. 4.—The Testament of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, 320

From *Testamentum XL. Mart. Sebast.* cc. i., iii., *ap.* O. von Gebhardt, *Acta Martyrum Selecta*, 165–70 (Berlin, 1902).

Meletius and Aëtius and Eutychius, the prisoners of Christ, to the holy bishops and priests, deacons and

confessors, in every city, and to all others who belong to the Church, greeting in Christ.

[c. i.] When we by the grace of God and the common prayers of all shall finish the strife that is set before us, and come to the rewards of the high calling, we desire that then this will of ours may be respected, to wit, that our relics be conveyed to our father the presbyter Proïdus, and our brethren Crispin and Gordius, and the zealous laity who are with them, to Cyril and Mark and Sapricius the son of Ammonius, in order that our relics may be deposited near the city of Zela, at the spot called Sarin. For although we all come from different localities, we have chosen one and the same resting-place. Since we have set before ourselves one common strife for the prize, we have agreed to make also one common resting-place in the aforesaid spot. These things have seemed good to the Holy Ghost and have pleased us. Therefore we which are with Aëtius and Eutychius and the rest of our brethren in Christ beseech our honoured parents and brethren to have no grief or distress, but to respect the decision of our brotherly fellowship, and to consent heartily to our wishes, in order that you may receive from our common Father the great recompense of obedience and of sharing in our sufferings. Moreover, we entreat all men that no one will secure for himself any single fragment of our relics gathered out of the furnace, but will give them up to the persons aforenamed with a view to their being gathered together in the same place, in order that by such a proof of earnest determination, and of disinterested goodwill, he may receive the gain of a share in our sufferings themselves; even as Mary, abiding steadfastly by the tomb of Christ, saw the Lord before the rest and was the first to obtain the grace of joy and blessing. If, on the other hand, any one shall go counter to our wish, let him have no part in the sacred gain, but incur the penalty of the entire disobedience, for depriving us of our right by his petty self-will, by compelling us as far as lay in his power to be sundered from one another, when our Holy Saviour by His special grace and providence has united us together in faith. And if the boy Eunoïcus, by the favour of the gracious God, shall be brought to the same end of strife, he has requested to have

the same dwelling-place with us. But if he shall be preserved unhurt by the grace of God and should be further proved in the world, we charge him to look liberally to our chapel; and we beseech him to keep the commandments of Christ, that in the great day of Resurrection he may obtain part in our felicity, because while he was in the world he endured the same afflictions with us.

. . . . . .

[c. iii.] So, honoured friends, we all greet you all—forty brethren and fellow-prisoners, Meletius, Aëtius, etc. . . . We then, the forty prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, have subscribed with our hand by one of our number, Meletius, and have confirmed all that is above written, and it has pleased us all. We pray with our souls, and with the Divine Spirit, that we may all obtain the eternal good things of God and His Kingdom, now and for ever and ever. Amen.—A. J. Mason, *The Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church*, 247–51.

No. 5.—Constantine's Legislation about Sunday, 321

(*a*) From *Omnes judices*, ap. *Codex Justinianus*, III. xii. 3, (*Corp. Jur Civ.* ii. 127, ed. P. Krüger).

Constantine to Elpidius.—All judges and city-people and the craftsmen shall rest upon the venerable Day of the Sun. Country-people, however, may freely attend to the cultivation of the fields, because it frequently happens that no other days are better adapted for planting the grain in the furrows or the vines in trenches; so that the advantage given by heavenly providence may not, for the occasion of a short time, perish. Given on March 7 [321], in the second consulate of Crispus and the second of Constantine.—J. C. Ayer, *A Source-Book for Ancient Church History*, 284, *sq.*

(*b*) From *Sicut indignissimum*, ap. *Cod. Theod.* II. viii. 1, edd. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, i. 87.

The Emperor Constantine Augustus to Elpidius.—Just as we considered it most unbefitting that the Day of the Sun, with its venerable solemnities, should be taken up with

the rival oaths and the baleful brawling of litigants, so it is a pleasant and joyous thing, on that day, to fulfil petitions of special urgency. Wherefore, on that festal day, let all have liberty for emancipation and manumission: and let nothing be forbidden that is done in this behalf.—Given on July 3 [321], at Cagliari [in Sardinia], in the second consulate of Crispus and the second of Constantine.—K.

No. 6.—The Letter of Arius [*c.* 321] to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, *c.* 325–39

From Theodoret, *H.E.* I. v. §§ 1–4.

[§ 1] Arius, unjustly persecuted by the Pope Alexander, on account of that all-conquering truth which you also uphold, sendeth greeting in the Lord to his very dear lord, the man of God, the faithful and orthodox Eusebius.

Ammonius, my father, being about to depart for Nicomedia, I considered myself bound to salute you by him, and withal to address myself to that natural affection which you bear towards the brethren for the sake of God and of Christ, apprising you that the bishop oppresses and persecutes us most severely, and that he causes us much suffering: he has driven us out of the city as atheists, because we do not concur in what he publicly preaches, namely, that the Father has always been, and that the Son has always been: that as the Father so is the Son: that the Son is unbegotten as the Father: that He is always being begotten, without having been begotten: that neither by thought nor by any interval does God precede the Son, God and the Son having always been; and that the Son proceeds from God.

[§ 2] Eusebius, your brother, bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregory, Aëtius, and all the bishops of the East, have been condemned because they say that God had an existence prior to that of His Son: except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, who are unlearned men, and who have embraced heretical opinions. One of them says that the Son is an effusion, another that He is an emission, the other that He is also unbegotten.

[§ 3] These are impieties to which we could not listen, even though the heretics should threaten us with a thousand

deaths. But we say, and believe, and have taught, and do teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor in any way part of the Unbegotten; and that He does not derive His subsistence from any matter; but that by His own will and counsel He has subsisted before time, and before ages as perfect God, only-begotten and unchangeable.

[§ 4] And that He existed not, before He was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established. For He was not unbegotten. We are persecuted because we say that the Son had a beginning, but that God was without beginning. This is really the cause of our persecution; and, likewise, because we say that He is from nothing. And this we say, because He is neither part of God, nor of any subjacent matter. For this are we persecuted; the rest you know. Farewell. As a fellow-disciple of Lucian, and as a truly pious man, according to the import of your name, remember our afflictions.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, v. 23–5 (with slight alterations) (Bagster, 1844).

No. 7.—Arius [*c.* 321] to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, *c.* 312–†28

From Athanasius, *De synodis* [359], § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583: *P.G.* xxvi. 707–12).

[§ 16] To our blessed Pope and Bishop Alexander, the Presbyters and Deacons send health in the Lord.

Our faith from our forefathers, which also we have learned from thee, Blessed Pope, is this:—We acknowledge One God, alone Ingenerate, alone Everlasting, alone Unbegun, alone True, alone having Immortality, alone Wise, alone Good, alone Sovereign; Judge, Governor, and Providence of all, unalterable and unchangeable, just and good, God of Law and Prophet and New Testament; who begat an Only-begotten Son before eternal times, through whom He has made both the ages and the universe; and begat Him not in semblance, but in truth: and that He made Him subsist at His own will, unalterable and unchangeable; perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures; offspring, but not as one of things begotten; nor as Valentinus pronounced that the offspring of the Father was an issue; nor as Manichæus taught that the offspring was a portion of the

Father, one in essence; or as Sabellius, dividing the Monad, speaks of a Son-and-Father; nor as Hieracas, of one torch from another, or as a lamp divided into two; nor that He who was before, was afterwards generated or new-created into a Son, as thou too thyself, Blessed Pope, in the midst of the Church and in session hast often condemned; but, as we say, at the will of God, created before times and before ages, and gaining life and being from the Father, who gave subsistence to His glories together with Him. For the Father did not, in giving to Him the inheritance of all things, deprive Himself of what He has ingenerately in Himself; for He is the Fountain of all things. Thus there are Three Subsistences. And God, being the cause of all things, is Unbegun and altogether Sole, but the Son being begotten apart from time by the Father, and being created and founded before ages, was not before His generation; but, being begotten apart from time before all things, alone was made to subsist by the Father. For He is not eternal or co-eternal or co-unoriginate with the Father, nor has He His being together with the Father, as some speak of relations, introducing two ingenerate beginnings, but God is before all things as being Monad and Beginning of all. Wherefore also He is before the Son; as we have learned also from thy preaching in the midst of the Church. So far then as from God He has being, and glories and life, and all things are delivered unto him, in such sense is God His Origin. For He is above Him, as being His God and before Him. But if the terms "from Him" and "from the womb" and "I came forth from the Father and I am come" (Rom. xi. 36; Ps. cx. 3; John xvi. 28), be understood by some to mean as if a part of Him, one in essence or as an issue, then the Father is according to them compounded and divisible and alterable and material, and, as far as their belief goes, has the circumstances of a body, who is the Incorporeal God —*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 458.

No. 8.—The Novelties of Arius and his Excommunication

From the *Encyclical* [c. 321] of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, *c.* 312–†26, *ap.* Socrates, *H.E.* I. vi. §§ 8–13.

[§ 8] These then are those that have become apostates:—Arius, Achillas, Aïthales and Carpones, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoïus, Lucius, Julian, Menas, Helladius and Gaïus; with these also must be reckoned Secundus and Theonas, who once were called bishops. [§ 9] The dogmas they assert in utter contrariety to the Scriptures, and wholly of their own devising, are these:—that God was not always a father, but that there was [a period] when he was not a father; that the Word of God was not from eternity, but was made out of nothing; for that the ever-existing God . . . made Him who did not previously exist, out of nothing. Thus they conclude there was [a time] when He did not exist, inasmuch as, according to their philosophy, the Son is a creature and a work; [§ 10] that He is neither like the Father as it regards His essence, nor is by nature either the Father's true Word or true Wisdom, but indeed one of His works and creatures, being erroneously called Word and Wisdom since he was Himself made by God's own Word and the Wisdom which is in God, whereby God both made all things and Him also. "Wherefore," say they, "he is as to his nature mutable and susceptible of change, as all other rational things are: [§ 11] hence the Word is alien to and other than the essence of God; and the Father is inexplicable by the Son, and invisible to him: for neither does the Son perfectly and accurately know the Father, neither can he distinctly see him. The Son knows not the nature of his own essence; for he was made on our account, in order that God might create us by him, as by an instrument; nor would he ever have existed, unless God had wished to create us." [§ 12] Some one accordingly asked them whether the Word of God could be changed, as the devil has been? and they feared not to say "Yes: he could; for being begotten and created, he is susceptible of change." [§ 13] We then, with the bishops of Egypt and Libya, being

assembled together to the number of nearly a hundred, have anathematized Arius for his shameless avowal of these heresies, together with all such as have countenanced them.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 9–11 (Bagster, 1844).

No. 9.—The Synodal Letter of the Council of Nicæa, 325

From Socrates, *H.E.* I. ix. §§ 1–14.

[§ 1] To the holy, by the grace of God, and great Church of the Alexandrians, and to our beloved brethren throughout Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, the bishops assembled at Nicæa, constituting the great and holy Synod, send greeting in the Lord.

[§ 2] Since, by the grace of God, a great and holy Synod has been convened at Nicæa, our most pious sovereign Constantine having summoned us out of various cities and provinces for that purpose, it appeared to us indispensably necessary that a letter should be written to you on the part of the sacred Synod; in order that ye may know what subjects were brought under consideration, what rigidly investigated, and also what was eventually determined on and decreed.

[§ 3] In the first place, then, the impiety and guilt of Arius and his adherents were examined into, in the presence of our most religious Emperor Constantine; and it was unanimously decided that his impious opinion should be anathematized with all the blasphemous expressions he has uttered in affirming that "the Son of God sprang from nothing," and that "there was [a time] when he was not"; saying, moreover, that "the Son of God was possessed of free-will, so as to be capable either of vice or virtue"; and calling Him a creature and a work. All these sentiments the holy Synod has anathematized, having scarcely patience to endure the hearing of such an impious, or rather bewildered, an opinion and such abominable blasphemies.

[§ 4] But the conclusion of our proceedings against him you must either have been informed of already, or will soon be apprised of; for we would not seem to trample on a man who has received the chastisement which his

crime deserved. Yet so contagious has his pestilential error proved, as to involve in the same perdition Theonas, Bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemaïs; for they have suffered the same condemnation as himself.

[§ 5] But when, by the grace of God, we were delivered from these execrable dogmas, with all their impiety and blasphemy, and from those persons who had dared to cause discord and division among a people previously at peace, there still remained the contumacy of Melitius to be dealt with, and those who had been ordained by him; and we shall now state to you, beloved brethren, what resolution the Synod came to on this point.

[§ 6] Acting with more clemency towards Melitius, although strictly speaking he was wholly undeserving of favour, the Council permitted him to remain in his own city, but decreed that he should exercise no authority either to ordain or nominate for ordination; and that he should appear in no other district or city on this pretence, but simply retain a nominal dignity.

[§ 7] That those who had received appointments from him, after having been confirmed by a more legitimate ordination, should be admitted to communion on these conditions:—that they should continue to hold their rank and ministry, but regard themselves as inferior in every respect to all those who had been previously ordained and established in each place and church by our most honoured fellow-minister Alexander. In addition to these things they shall have no authority to propose or nominate whom they please, or to do anything at all without the concurrence of some bishop of the Catholic Church who is one of Alexander's suffragans.

[§ 8] Let such as, by the grace of God and your prayers, have been found in no schisms, but have continued in the Catholic Church blameless, have authority to nominate and ordain those who are worthy of the sacred office, and to act in all things according to ecclesiastical law and usage.

[§ 9] When it may happen that any of those holding preferments in the Church die, then let such as have been recently admitted into Orders be preferred to the dignity of the deceased, provided that they should appear worthy,

and that the people should elect them, the Bishop of Alexandria also ratifying their choice.

[§ 10] This privilege is conceded to all the others indeed, but to Melitius personally we by no means grant the same licence, on account of his former disorderly conduct; and because of the rashness and levity of his character, he is deprived of all authority and jurisdiction, as a man liable again to create similar disturbances.

[§ 11] These are the things which specially affect Egypt, and the most holy Church of the Alexandrians; and, if any other canon or ordinance should be established, our lord and most honoured fellow-minister and brother Alexander being present with us, will on his return to you enter into more minute details, inasmuch as he is not only a participator in whatever is transacted, but has the principal direction of it.

[§ 12] We have also gratifying intelligence to communicate to you relative to unity of judgment on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter; for this point also has been happily settled through your prayers: so that all the brethren in the East who have heretofore kept this festival when the Jews did, will henceforth conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who from the earliest time have observed our period of celebrating Easter.

[§ 13] Rejoicing, therefore, in this most desirable conclusion, and in the general unanimity and peace, as well as in the extirpation of all heresy, receive with the greater honour and more abundant love our fellow-minister and your Bishop Alexander, who has greatly delighted us by his presence, and even at his advanced age has undergone extraordinary exertions in order that peace might be re-established among you.

[§ 14] Pray on behalf of us all that the decisions, to which we have so justly come, may be inviolably maintained through Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Spirit; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.—*Greek Eccl. Hist.* iii. 35–9 (Bagster, 1844).

No. 10.—The Nicene Decisions about the Paschal Question, 325

From Constantine's letter to the Churches, *ap.* Socrates, *H.E.* I. ix. §§ 32–46.

[§ 32] Having experienced from the flourishing condition of public affairs, how great has been the grace of divine power, I judged this to be an object above all things claiming my care, that one faith, sincere love, and uniform piety toward Almighty God should be maintained amongst the most blessed assemblies of the Catholic Church.

[§ 33] But I perceived this could not be firmly and permanently established, unless all, or at least the greatest part, of the bishops could be convened in the same place, and every point of our most holy religion should be discussed by them in council. For this reason as many as possible were assembled, and I myself also as one of you was present; for I will not deny what I specially rejoice in, that I am your fellow-servant. All points were then minutely investigated, until a decision, acceptable to Him Who is the inspector of all things, was published for the promotion of uniformity of judgment and practice; so that nothing might be henceforth left for dissension or controversy in matters of faith.

[§ 34] There also the question having been considered relative to the most holy day of Easter, it was determined by common consent that it would be proper that all should celebrate it on one and the same day everywhere.

[§ 35] For what can be more appropriate, or what more solemn, than that this feast from which we have received the hope of immortality, should be invariably kept in one order, and for an obvious reason among all? And in the first place it seemed very unsuitable in the celebration of this sacred feast, that we should follow the custom of the Jews; a people who, having imbued their hands in a most heinous outrage, and thus polluted their souls, are deservedly blind. Having, therefore, cast aside their usage, it becomes us to take care that the celebration of this observance should occur in future in the more correct order which we have kept from the first day of the Passion until the present time.

[§ 36] Let us then have nothing in common with that most hostile people, the Jews. We have received from the Saviour another way; for there is set before us a legitimate and accurate course in our holy religion: unanimously pursuing this, let us, most honoured brethren, withdraw ourselves from that detestable association. How truly absurd of them it is to boast that we are incapable of rightly observing these things without their instruction!

[§ 37] For on what subject will they themselves be competent to form a correct judgment, who, after the murder of their Lord, having been bereft of their senses, are led, not by any rational motive, but by an ungovernable impulse, wherever their innate fury may drive them? Thence it is, therefore, that, even in this particular they do not perceive the truth, so that they, constantly erring in the utmost degree, instead of making a suitable correction, celebrate the Feast of the Passover a second time in the same year.

[§ 38] Why then should we follow the example of those who are acknowledged to be infected with grievous error? Surely we should never suffer Easter to be kept twice in one and the same year! But even if these considerations were not laid before you, it became your prudence at all times to take heed, both by diligence and prayer, that the purity of your soul should in nothing have communion, or seem to have accordance with, the customs of men so utterly depraved.

[§ 39] Moreover, this should be also considered, that in a matter so important and of such religious significancy, the slightest disagreement is to be deprecated. For our Saviour left us but one day to be observed in commemoration of our deliverance, that is the day of His most holy Passion; He also wished His Catholic Church to be one; the members of which, however much they may be scattered in various places, are notwithstanding cherished by one Spirit, that is by the will of God.

[§ 40] Let the prudence consistent with your sacred character consider how grievous and indecorous it is, that on the same days some should be observant of fasts, while others are celebrating feasts; and especially that this should be the case on the days immediately after Easter.

[§ 41] On this account, therefore, Divine Providence directed that an appropriate correction should be effected, and uniformity of practice established, as I suppose you are all aware. Since then it was desirable that this should be so amended that we should have nothing in common with that nation of parricides, and of those who slew their Lord; and since the order is a becoming one which is observed by all the Churches of the Western, Southern and Northern parts, and by some also in the Eastern; from these considerations all have, on the present occasion, thought it to be expedient, and I pledged myself that it would be satisfactory to your prudent penetration,

[§ 42] that what is observed with such general unanimity of sentiment in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, Africa, all Egypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya, the whole of Greece, and the dioceses of Asia, Pontus and Cilicia, your intelligence also would readily concur in. Reflect too that not only is there a greater number of Churches in the places before mentioned, but also that this in particular is a most sacred obligation, that all should in common desire whatever strict reason seems to demand, and which has no communion with the perjury of the Jews.

[§ 43] But, to sum up matters briefly, it was determined by common consent that the most holy festival of Easter should be solemnized on one and the same day; for in such a hallowed solemnity any difference is unseemly; and it is more commendable to adopt that opinion in which there will be no intermixture of strange error, or deviation from what is right.

[§ 44] These things, therefore, being thus ordered, do you gladly receive this heavenly and truly Divine command: for whatever is done in the sacred assemblies of the bishops is referable to the Divine will.

[§ 45] Wherefore when ye have indicated the things, which have been prescribed, to all our beloved brethren, it behoves you both to assent to the reasoning which has been adduced, and to establish this observance of the most holy day; that when I arrive at the long and earnestly desired view of your order, I may be able to celebrate the sacred festival with you on one and the same day;

[§ 46] and may rejoice with you for all things, in seeing

Satanic cruelty frustrated by Divine power through our efforts, while your faith, peace and concord are everywhere flourishing. May God preserve you, beloved brethren.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 39–47 (Bagster, 1844).

No. 11.—The Canons of the Council of Nicæa, 325

From W. Bright, *Canons of the First Four Councils*,[2] ix–xv.

I. If any one has been obliged to undergo a surgical operation from disease, or has been castrated by barbarians, let him continue in the clergy. But if any one in good health has so mutilated himself, it is right that, if he be enrolled amongst the clergy, he should cease from his ministrations; and that from henceforth no such person should be promoted. As, however, it is plain that this is said with reference to those who dare to mutilate themselves, therefore, if any persons have been so mutilated by barbarians, or by their own masters, and in other respects are found worthy, the canon allows them to be admitted to the clerical office.

II. Since many things have been done by men either from necessity, or some other pressing cause, contrary to the canons of the Church, as that persons who have lately come over to the faith from a heathen life, and have been taught for a short time, have been presently brought to the spiritual laver, and at the same time that they have been baptized, have been promoted to the episcopate or presbyterate—it appears right to determine that nothing of the sort shall be done for the future; for some time is necessary for the state of a catechumen, and a fuller probation after baptism; for the Apostolic decree is clear, which says, "Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into a snare, and the condemnation of the devil." But if, in process of time, any natural fault should be discovered about the person, let him be deposed from the clergy. Whosoever shall act contrary to these rules will endanger his own orders, as boldly opposing the great Synod.

III. The great Synod altogether forbids any bishop, presbyter or deacon, or any one of the clergy, to have a

woman dwelling with him, excepting a mother, or sister, or aunt, or such persons only as are above all suspicion.

IV. It is most proper that a bishop should be constituted by all the bishops of the province; but, if this be difficult on account of some urgent necessity, or the length of the way, that at all events three should meet together at the same place, those who are absent also giving their suffrages, and their consent in writing, and then the ordination be performed. The confirming, however, of what is done in each province belongs to the Metropolitan of it.

V. Concerning those, whether of the clergy or laity, who have been excommunicated by the bishops in the different provinces, let the sentence of the canon prevail, which pronounces that those persons who have been cast out by one bishop are not to be received again into communion by any others. Inquiry should, however, be made whether they have been excommunicated through the peevishness or contentiousness, or other such-like bitterness, of the bishop. And in order that this inquiry may be conveniently made, it is decreed to be proper that synods should be assembled twice every year in every province, that all the bishops of the province being assembled together, such questions may be examined into, that so those who have confessedly offended against the bishop may appear to be with reason excommunicated by all the bishops, until it shall seem fit to their general assembly to pronounce a more lenient sentence upon them. And of these synods one is to be held before Lent, that all bitterness being removed, a pure gift may be offered to God. The other in the season of autumn.

VI. Let the ancient customs be maintained which are in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis, according to which the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all these places. For this is also customary to the Bishop of Rome. In like manner in Antioch and in the other provinces, the privileges are to be preserved to the Churches. But this is clearly to be understood, that, if any one be made a bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great Synod declares that he shall not be a bishop. If, however, two or three bishops shall from private contention oppose the common choice of all the others, it being a reasonable one and made

according to the ecclesiastical canons, let the choice of the majority hold good.

VII. Since a custom and ancient tradition has prevailed, that the Bishop of Ælia should be honoured, let him have the second place of honour, saving to the Metropolis the honour which is due to it.

VIII. Concerning those who have formerly called themselves Cathari, but who come over to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the holy Synod has decreed that they, having received imposition of hands, shall so remain in the clergy. It is right, however, that they should in the first instance make profession in writing that they will agree to and follow the decrees of the Catholic Church; in particular, that they will communicate with those persons who have been twice married, and with those who, having lapsed in persecution, have had a certain period of penitence assigned to them and a time for reconciliation fixed; and, generally, that they will follow in all things the decrees of the Catholic Church. Wherever, therefore, whether in villages or cities, all who have been ordained are found to be of this party only, let them continue in the clergy in the same rank in which they are found. But if any of these come to a place where there is already a bishop or presbyter of the Catholic Church, it is clear that the bishop of the Church is to have the episcopal dignity, and he who had the name of a bishop amongst those who are called Cathari, shall have the rank of a presbyter, unless it shall seem fit to the bishop to allow him to partake of the honour of the name. If the bishop is not pleased to do so, he shall assign him the place of a Chorepiscopus or Presbyter, that he may indeed altogether appear to be in the clergy, but that there may not be two bishops in the city.

IX. If any two presbyters have been promoted without enquiry, or if upon examination they have confessed their sins, and, notwithstanding their having confessed, any man has in opposition to the canon laid hands upon them, the canon does not admit persons so ordained. For the Church defends that which cannot be found fault with.

X. If any who have lapsed have been ordained in ignorance, or even if those who ordained them were aware of the fact, this does not prejudice the Ecclesiastical Canon; for

upon the circumstances being made known, they are deposed.

XI. Concerning those who have fallen away without necessity, or without the spoiling of their goods, or without being in danger, or any other such reason, as happened under the tyranny of Licinius, the Synod has decreed that although they are undeserving of any kindness, they shall nevertheless be dealt with mercifully. As many, therefore, as shall truly repent, shall continue three years amongst the hearers as believers, and seven amongst the prostrators, and for two years they shall communicate with the people in prayer without the offering.

XII. Those who have been called by grace, and have at first displayed their ardour, but afterwards have run like dogs to their own vomit (insomuch that some have spent money, and by means of gifts have acquired again their military station), must continue amongst the prostrators for ten years, after having been for three years amongst the hearers. In all such cases, however, it is proper to examine into the purpose and appearance of their repentance; for as many as manifest their conversion in deed, and not in appearance only, by their fear, and tears, and patience and good works, these having completed the prescribed time as hearers, may properly communicate in the prayers, and the bishop may be allowed to determine yet more favourably respecting them. But those who hear their sentence with indifference, and think the form of entering into the Church sufficient for their conversion, must complete the whole time.

XIII. Concerning those who are likely to die, the old and canonical law is still to be observed that if any one is about to die, he must not be deprived of the perfect and most necessary provision for his journey. If, however, after having been given over, and having again received the Communion, he is again restored to health, let him continue amongst those who communicate in prayers only. But generally, and as regards every one who is likely to die, and who desires to partake of the Eucharist, the Bishop, after examination, shall impart to him of the offering.

XIV. Concerning those who are catechumens, and who have lapsed, the holy and great Synod has decreed that they

shall be only three years amongst the hearers, and after that shall pray with the catechumens.

XV. On account of the great disturbance and disputes which have occurred, it seems right that the custom which has been admitted in some places contrary to the canon should by all means be done away; and that no bishop, presbyter or deacon should remove from one city to another. But if any person, after the decision of the holy and great Synod, shall attempt any such thing or allow himself in any such practice, that which he has attempted shall be made utterly void, and he shall be restored to the church in which he was ordained bishop or presbyter.

XVI. If any persons, rashly and inconsiderately, not having the fear of God before their eyes, nor regarding the canons of the Church, whether they be presbyters or deacons, or any others who are enrolled in the list of the clergy, shall remove from their own Church, they ought by no means to be received into any other, but they must be constrained to return to their own parish, or if they continue they must be without communion. And if any bishop shall dare to usurp what belongs to another, and to ordain in his church any such person without the consent of the proper bishop from whom he has seceded, let the ordination be void.

XVII. Since many persons of the ecclesiastical order, being led away by covetousness, and a desire of filthy lucre, have forgotten the Holy Scripture which says, "he gave not his money to usury," and in lending require the hundredth part, the holy and great Synod considers it right that if any one after this decision shall be found receiving money for what he has advanced, or going about the business in any other way, as by requiring the whole and a half, or using any other device for filthy lucre's sake, he should be deposed from the clergy, and struck out of the list.

XVIII. It has come to the knowledge of the holy Synod that in certain places and cities, the deacons give the Eucharist to the presbyters, whereas neither canon nor custom allows that they who have no authority to offer should give the Body of Christ to those who do offer. It has also been made known that now some of the deacons receive the Eucharist even before the bishops. Let all such

practices be done away, and let the deacons keep within their proper bounds, knowing that they are the ministers of the bishop and inferior to the presbyters. Let them, therefore, receive the Eucharist, according to their order, after the presbyters, either the bishop or presbyter administering it to them. Further, the deacons are not to be allowed to sit among the presbyters; for this is done contrary to the canon and due order. But if any one after his decision will not obey, let him be put out of the diaconate.

XIX. Concerning the Paulianists who have come over to the Catholic Church, the decision is that they must by all means be baptized again. But if any of them have in time past been enrolled amongst the clergy, if they appear to be blameless and without reproach, after they have been rebaptized, let them be ordained by the bishop of the Catholic Church. If, however, upon examination, they are found to be not qualified, they must be deposed. In like manner, as regards the deaconesses, and, in short, any who have been enrolled amongst the clergy, the same form is to be observed. And we have mentioned particularly those deaconesses who are enrolled as far as the dress; since they have not any imposition of hands, they are altogether to be reckoned amongst the laity.

XX. Since there are some persons who kneel on the Lord's Day and in the days of Pentecost; in order that all things may be observed in like manner in every parish, the holy Synod has decreed that all should at those times offer up their prayers to God standing.—W. A. Hammond, *The Definitions of Faith*, 15–22.

No. 12.—Letter of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, 314–†40, to the People of his Diocese, 325

From Athanasius, *De decretis* [*c.* 350], ad fin. (*Op.* i. 238–42, ed. Montfaucon, 1698), or Eus. *Ep.* i. (*P.G.* xx. 1535–44).

[§ 1] What was transacted concerning ecclesiastical faith at the Great Council assembled at Nicæa, you have probably learned, Beloved, from other sources, rumour being wont to precede the accurate account of what is doing. But lest in such reports the circumstances of the case have been

misrepresented, we have been obliged to transmit to you, first, the formula of faith presented by ourselves; and next, the second, which [the Fathers] put forth with some additions to our words. Our own paper, then, which was read in the presence of our most pious Emperor, and declared to be good and unexceptionable, ran thus:—

[§ 2] "As we have received from the Bishops who preceded us, and in our first catechizings, and when we received the Holy Laver, and as we have learned from the divine Scriptures, and as we believed and taught in the presbytery, and in the Episcopate itself, so believing also at the time present, we report to you our faith, and it is this:—

[§ 3] "'We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Son Only-begotten, first-born of every creature, before all the ages, begotten from the Father, by Whom also all things were made; Who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the quick, and [the] dead. And we believe also in One Holy Ghost':

"Believing each of these to be and to exist, the Father truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost, as also our Lord, sending forth His disciples for the preaching, said, 'Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Concerning whom we confidently affirm that so we hold, and so we think, and so we have held aforetime, and we maintain this faith unto the death, anathematizing every godless heresy. That this we have ever thought from our heart and soul, from the time we recollect ourselves, and now think and say in truth, before God Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ do we witness, being able by proofs to show and to convince you that, even in times past, such has been our belief and preaching."

[§ 4] On this faith being publicly put forth by us, no room for contradiction appeared; but our most pious Emperor, before any one else, testified that it comprised most orthodox statements. He confessed, moreover, that

such were his own sentiments; and he advised all present to agree to it, and to subscribe its articles and to assent to them, with the insertion of the single word One-in-essence, which, moreover, he interpreted as not in the sense of the affections of bodies, nor as if the Son subsisted from the Father in the way of division, or any severance; for that the immaterial, and intellectual, and incorporeal nature could not be the subject of any corporeal affection, but that it became us to conceive of such things in a divine and ineffable manner. And such were the theological remarks of our most wise and most religious Emperor; but they, with a view to the addition of One-in-essence, drew up the following formula:—

The Faith dictated in the Council.

"We believe in One God, the Father, Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible:

"And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, from the essence of the Father; God from God, Light from Light, Very God from very God, begotten not made, One in essence with the Father, by Whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; Who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge quick and dead.

"And in the Holy Ghost.

"And those who say 'Once He was not,' and 'Before His generation He was not,' and 'He came to be from nothing,' or those who pretend that the Son of God is 'Of other subsistence or essence,' or 'created,' or 'alterable,' or 'mutable,' the Catholic Church anathematizes."

[§ 5] On their dictating this formula, we did not let it pass without enquiry in what sense they introduced "of the essence of the Father" and "One in essence with the Father." Accordingly, questions and explanations took place, and the meaning of the words underwent scrutiny of reason. And they professed that the phrase "of the essence" was indicative of the Son's being indeed from the Father, yet without being as if a part of Him. And with this understanding, we thought good to assent to the sense

of such religious doctrine; teaching, as it did, that the Son was from the Father, not, however, a part of His essence. On this account, we assented to the sense ourselves, without declining even the term "One in essence," peace being the object which we set before us, and steadfastness in the orthodox view.

[§ 6] In the same way, we also admitted "begotten, not made," since the Council alleged that "made" was an appellative common to the other creatures which came to be through the Son, to whom the Son had no likeness. Wherefore, say they, He was not a work resembling the things which through Him came to be, but was of an essence which is too high for the level of any work; and which the Divine Oracles teach to have been generated from the Father, the mode of generation being inscrutable and incalculable to every originated nature.

[§ 7] And so too on examination there are grounds for saying that the Son is "One in essence" with the Father; not in the way of bodies, nor like mortal beings, for He is not such by division of essence, or by severance, no, nor by any affection, or alteration, or changing of the Father's essence and power (since from all such the unoriginate nature of the Father is alien); but because "One in essence with the Father" suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the originated creatures, but that to His Father alone Who begat Him is He in every way assimilated, and that He is not of any other subsistence and essence, but from the Father. To which term also, thus interpreted, it appeared well to assent; since we were aware that even among the ancients, some learned and illustrious bishops and writers have used the term "One in essence," in their theological teaching concerning the Father and Son.

[§ 8] So much then be said concerning the Faith which was published; to which all of us assented, not without enquiry, but according to the specific senses, mentioned before the most religious Emperor himself, and justified by the fore-mentioned considerations. And as to the anathematism published by them at the end of the Faith, it did not pain us because it forbade to use words not in Scripture, from which almost all the confusion and disorder in the Church have come. Since then no divinely inspired

Scripture has used the phrases, "out of nothing" and "once He was not," and the rest which follow, there appeared no ground for using or teaching them; to which also we assented as a good decision, since it had not been our custom hitherto to use these terms.

[§ 9] Moreover, to anathematize "Before His generation He was not" did not seem preposterous, in that it is confessed by all, that the Son of God was before the generation according to the flesh.

[§ 10] Nay, our most religious Emperor did, at the time, prove, in a speech, that He was in being even according to His divine generation which is before all ages, since even before He was generated in energy. He was in virtue with the Father ingenerately, the Father being always Father, as King always, and Saviour always, being all things in virtue, and being always in the same respects and in the same way.

[§ 11] This we have been forced to transmit to you, Beloved, as making clear to you the deliberation of our enquiry and assent, and how reasonably we resisted even to the last minute, as long as we were offended at statements which differed from our own, but received without contention what no longer pained us as soon as, on a candid examination of the sense of the words, they appeared to us to coincide with what we ourselves have professed in the faith which we have already published.—*L.F.* viii 59–72.

No. 13.—Constantine on the Exposure of Children, 331

From *Quicunque puerum*, ap. *Cod. Theod.* V. viii. 1, edd. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, i. 225.

The Emperor Constantine Augustus to Ablavius, Prætorian Prefect. When a boy or a girl is of set purpose and knowingly cast out from the house of father or owner, then, if any one picks up the child and of his own sustenance rears it till it is strong, let him retain it in that same condition in which he intended to maintain it when he found it, *i.e.* either as his son or as his slave, according as he prefers; and let him be entirely relieved of all fear of its being claimed by those who, knowingly and of set purpose,

cast out from their house their newly-born children, whether bond or free.—Given at Constantinople, April 17 [331], in the consulate of Bassus and Ablavius.—K.

No. 14.—Extracts from the *Thalia* of Arius, †336.

From Athanasius, *De Synodis* [359], § 15 (*Op.* ii. 582; *P.G.* xxvi. 705–8).

[§ 15] . . . God Himself, then, in His own nature, is ineffable by all men. Equal or like Himself, He alone has none, or one in glory. And Ingenerate we call Him because of Him who is generate by nature. We praise Him as without beginning, because of Him who has a beginning. And adore Him as everlasting, because of Him who in time has come to be. The Unbegun made the Son a beginning of things originated; and advanced Him as a Son to Himself by adoption. He has nothing proper to God in proper subsistence. For He is not equal, no, nor one in essence with Him. Wise is God, for He is the teacher of Wisdom. There is full proof that God is invisible to all beings; both to things which are through the Son, and to the Son He is invisible. I will say it expressly, how by the Son is seen the Invisible; by that power by which God sees, and in His own measure, the Son endures to see the Father, as is lawful. Thus there is a Triad, not in equal glories. Not intermingling with each other are their subsistences. One more glorious than the other in their glories into immensity. Foreign from the Son in essence is the Father, for He is without beginning. Understand that the Monad was; but the Dyad was not, before it was in existence. It follows at once that though the Son was not, the Father was God. Hence the Son, not being (for He existed at the will of the Father), is God Only-begotten; and He is alien from either. Wisdom existed as Wisdom by the will of the Wise God. Hence he is conceived in numberless conceptions: Spirit, Power, Wisdom, God's glory, Truth, Image and Word. Understand that He is conceived to be Radiance and Light. One equal to the Son, the Superior is able to beget; but one more excellent, or superior, or greater, He is not able. At God's will the Son is what and

whatsoever He is. And when and since He was, from that time He has subsisted from God. He, being a strong God, praises in His degree the Superior. To speak in brief, God is ineffable to His Son. For He is to Himself what He is, that is, unspeakable. So that nothing which is called comprehensible does the Son know how to speak about; for it is impossible for Him to investigate the Father, who is by Himself. For the Son does not know His own essence: For, being Son, He really existed at the will of the Father. What argument then allows, that He who is from the Father should know His own parent by comprehension? For it is plain that for that which hath a beginning to conceive how the Unbegun is, or to grasp the idea, is not possible.—*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 457 *sq.*

No. 15.—Nullity of Ordination by a Presbyter

From the Encyclical of the Council of Alexandria, 339, *ap.* Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos* [? 351], § 12 (*Op.* i. 106: *P.G.* xxv. 269 A).

[§ 12] By what means then did Ischyras become a presbyter? Who was it that ordained him? Was it Colluthus? For this is the only supposition that remains. But it is well known, and no one has any doubt about the matter, that Colluthus died a presbyter, and that every ordination of his was invalid, and that all that were ordained by him during the schism were reduced to the condition of laymen, and in that rank appear in the congregation. How then can it be believed that a private person, occupying a private house, had in his possession a sacred chalice? But the truth is they gave the name of presbyter at the time to a private person, and gratified him with this title to support him in his iniquitous conduct towards us; and now as the reward of his accusations they procure for him the erection of a church. So that this man had then no church; but, as the reward of his malice and subserviency to them in accusing us, he receives now what he had not before; nay, perhaps they have even repudiated his services with the episcopate, for so he goes about reporting and accordingly behaves towards us with great insolence. Thus are such rewards as these now bestowed by bishops

upon accusers and calumniators; though indeed it is reasonable, in the case of an accomplice, that as they have made him a partner in their proceedings, so they should also make him their associate in their own episcopate.—*Historical Tracts of St. Athanasius: L.F.* xiii. 30 *sq.*

No. 16.—The Council of Gangra, 340

From the Synodal Letter and Canons in Mansi, *Concilia*, ii. 1095–1122.

To our lords and honoured fellow-ministers in Armenia, Eusebius, etc., send greeting in the Lord.—The most sacred Synod of the bishops in Gangra has assembled on account of certain necessities of the Church, and for investigation of the affair of Eustathius;[1] and having found that many improprieties have been committed by his followers, it has therefore determined to remove the evils which Eustathius[1] has brought about . . .

(1) If any one despises wedlock, abhorring and blaming the woman who sleeps with her husband, even if she is a believer and devout, as if she could not enter the Kingdom of God, let him be anathema.

(2) If any one condemns him who eats meat, though he abstains from blood, things offered to idols, things strangled, and is faithful and devout, as though by his partaking he has no hope of salvation, let, etc.

(3) If any one teaches a slave, under pretext of piety, to despise his master, to forsake his service, and not to serve him with goodwill and all respect, let, etc.

(4) If any one maintains that, when a married priest offers the sacrifice, no one should take part in the service, let, etc.

(5) If any one teaches that the House of God is to be despised, and likewise the assemblies there held, let, etc.

(6) If any one, avoiding the churches, holds private meetings, and in contempt of the Church performs that which belongs to her alone, without the presence of a priest with authority from the bishop, let, etc.

(7) If any one appropriates to himself the tithes of produce which belong to the Church, or distributes them outside the Church, without the consent of the bishop, or of one

[1] Bishop of Sebaste and Metropolitan of Armenia I, 357–†80.

appointed by him, and will not act according to the bishop's wishes, let him, etc.

(8) If any one gives or receives such offerings without the will of the bishop, or of one appointed by him for the administration of the benefaction, both giver and receiver shall be anathema.

(9) If any one lives unmarried or practises continence, avoiding marriage with abhorrence, and not because of the beauty and holiness of virginity, let, etc.

(10) If any one of those who for the Lord's sake remain unmarried exalts himself above those who have married, let, etc.

(11) If any one despise those who in faith observe the *agape*, and for the honour of the Lord invite their brethren, and refuses to take part in these invitations because he lightly esteems the matter, let, etc.

(12) If any one from pretended asceticism wears the philosopher's cloak, and, as if he were thereby made righteous, despises those who wear ordinary coats, and make use of other such clothing as is everywhere customary, let, etc.

(13) If a woman from pretended asceticism alters her dress, and instead of the customary female dress assumes male attire, let, etc.

(14) If a woman leaves her husband and would separate herself through abhorrence of marriage, let, etc.

(15) If any one forsakes his children, and does not educate them and, as far as he can, train them in fitting habits of piety, but neglects them under pretext of asceticism, let, etc.

(16) If children, specially those of the faithful, forsake their parents under pretext of piety, and do not show them due honour, on the plea of esteeming piety as the higher duty, let, etc.

(17) If a woman, from supposed asceticism, cuts off her hair which has been given her by God to remind her of her subjection, and thus renounces the command of subjection, let, etc.

(18) If any one, from supposed asceticism, fasts on Sunday, let, etc.

(19) If an ascetic without bodily necessity, but from

pride, neglects the fasts which are observed by the whole Church, as though he possesses full understanding, let, etc.

(20) If any one out of pride regards with abhorrence the assemblies of the martyrs and the services there held, or the commemoration of the martyrs, let, etc.—E. F. Morison, *St. Basil and his Rule*, App. C.

No. 17.—The Claims of the Roman See, 340

From Julius, Bishop of Rome, 337–†52, *ap.* Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* § 35 (*Op.* i. 121 ; *P.G.* xxv. 308).

[§35] . . . Let us grant the "removal," as you write, of Athanasius and Marcellus from their own places ; yet what must one say of the case of the other bishops and presbyters who, as I said before, came hither from various parts, and who complained that they also had been forced away, and had suffered the like injuries? O dearly beloved, the decisions of the Church are no longer according to the Gospel, but tend only to banishment and death. Supposing, as you assert, that some offence rested upon these persons, the case ought to have been conducted against them, not after this manner, but according to the Canon of the Church. Word should have been written of it to us all, that so a just sentence might proceed from all. For the sufferers were bishops, and churches of no ordinary note, but those which the Apostles themselves had governed in their own persons.

And why was nothing said to us concerning the church of the Alexandrians in particular? Are you ignorant that the custom has been for word to be written first to us, and then for a just sentence to be passed from this place? If, then, any such suspicion rested upon the bishop there, notice thereof ought to have been sent to the church of this place ; whereas, after neglecting to inform us, and proceeding on their own authority, as they pleased, now they desire to obtain our concurrence in their decisions, though we never condemned him. Not so have the constitutions of Paul, not so have the traditions of the Fathers directed. What we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter, that I signify to you.—*L.F.* xiii. 56 *sq.*

No. 18.—The Dedication Creed, 341

From the Council of Antioch, 341, *ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 23 (*Op.* ii. 587 *sq.*; *P.G.* xxvi. 721).

We believe, conformably to the evangelical and apostolical tradition, in One God, the Father Almighty, the Framer and Maker and Provider of the Universe, from whom are all things.

And in One Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, Only-begotten God, by whom all are things, who was begotten before all ages from the Father, God from God, whole from whole, sole from sole, perfect from perfect, King from King, Lord from Lord, Living Word, Living Wisdom, True Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door, both unalterable and unchangeable; exact Image of the Godhead, Essence, Will, Power and Glory of the Father: the firstborn of every creature, who was in the beginning with God, God the Word, as it is written in the Gospel, "and the Word was God"; by whom all things were made, and in whom all things consist; who in the last days, descended from above, and was born of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, and was made Man, mediator between God and man, and Apostle of our faith, and Prince of life, as He says, "I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will but the will of Him that sent Me"; who suffered for us and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory and power, to judge quick and dead.

And in the Holy Ghost, who is given to those who believe for comfort, and sanctification, and initiation, as also our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined His disciples, saying, "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost"; namely, of a Father who is truly Father, and a Son who is truly Son, and of the Holy Ghost who is truly Holy Ghost, the names not being given without meaning or effect, but denoting accurately the peculiar subsistence, rank and glory of each that is named, so that they are three in subsistence, and in agreement one.

Holding then this faith, and holding it in the presence of God and Christ from beginning to end, we anathematize

every heretical heterodoxy. And if any teaches beside the sound and right faith of the Scriptures, that time, or season, or age, either is or has been before the generation of the Son, be he anathema. Or, if any one says that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures, or an offspring as one of the offsprings, or a work as one of the works, and not the aforesaid articles one after another, as the Divine Scriptures have delivered, or if he teaches or preaches beside what we received, be he anathema. For all that has been delivered in the Divine Scriptures, whether by Prophets or Apostles, do we truly and reverentially both believe and follow.—*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 461.

No. 19.—The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Roman See

From the Council of Sardica, 343: Canons III. and VII.: *J.T.S.* iii. 396 *sq.*

Canon III.

Hosius, the bishop, said:—

This also [must be provided], that a bishop do not pass from [his own] province into another province in which there are bishops; unless, perchance, he have been invited by his brethren, lest we seem to shut the door of charity.

This also must be provided, that, if in any province, any bishop have a cause against his brother and fellow-bishop, neither shall call in bishops from another province [as arbiters].

That, if any bishop have had judgment given upon him in any cause, and consider himself to have good reason for judgment being given afresh upon it, if you agree, let us honour the memory of the most holy Apostle Peter; let there be written letters to the Roman bishop either by those who tried the cause or by the bishops who live in the neighbouring province. If he decide that judgment be given afresh, let it be given afresh, and let him appoint judges. If, however, he be of opinion that the case is such as that what was done be not submitted to review, then the decision shall hold good.

Is this generally agreed?

The Synod replied: Agreed.

Canon VII.

Hosius, the bishop, said:—

Agreed also that, if a bishop have been accused, and the bishops of that region have met in judgment and have deposed him, and he have appealed and had recourse to the most blessed bishop of the Roman Church and is willing that he should hear him; then, if he should consider it just that examination of the matter should be held afresh, let him be good enough to write to the bishops who belong to the neighbouring and adjacent province; let them make careful enquiry into everything, and give sentence in conformity with the truth of the matter. But, if any one who asks that his cause be heard again should by his petition move the Roman bishop to send one of the presbyters of his suite, then it shall be in the power of the [Roman] bishop to do as he considers and determines best. If he decides to send such to sit with the bishops, and give judgment, as have the authority of him by whom they were sent, it shall be within his power to do so. But if he should consider the bishops sufficient to determine the business, he shall do as seems fit to his most wise counsel.—K.

No. 20.—The Macrostich, 344

From the Council of Antioch, 344, *ap.* Ath. *De Syn.* [359], § 26 (*Op.* ii. 589–92; *P.G.* xxvi. 727–36).

We believe in one God the Father, Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom all fatherhood in heaven and on earth is named.

And in His Only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all ages was begotten from the Father, God from God, Light from Light, by whom all things were made, in heaven and on the earth, visible and invisible, being Word and Wisdom and Power and Life and true Light, who in the last days was made man for us, and was born of the holy Virgin, crucified and dead and buried, and rose again from the dead the third day, and was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming at the consummation of the age to

judge quick and dead, and to render to every one according to his works, whose Kingdom endures unceasingly unto the infinite ages; for He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, not only in His age, but also in that which is to come.

And we believe in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, which, having promised to the Apostles, He sent forth, after the ascension into heaven, to teach them and to remind them of all things: through whom also shall be sanctified the souls of those who sincerely believe in Him.

But those who say, (1) that the Son was from nothing, or from other subsistence and not from God; (2) and that there was a time or age when He was not, the Catholic and Holy Church regard as aliens. Likewise those who say, (3) that there are three Gods: (4) or that Christ is not God: (5) or that, before the ages, He was neither Christ nor Son of God: (6) or that Father and Son and Holy Ghost are the same; (7) or that the Son is Ingenerate; or that the Father begat the Son not by choice or will; the Holy and Catholic Church anathematizes.

(1) For neither is [it] safe to say that the Son is from nothing (since this is nowhere spoken of Him in divinely inspired Scripture), nor again of any other subsistence before existing beside the Father, but from God alone do we define Him genuinely to be generated. For the divine Word teaches that the Ingenerate and Unbegun, the Father of Christ, is One.

(2) Nor may we, adopting the hazardous position, "There was once when He was not," from unscriptural sources, imagine any interval of time before Him, but only the God who has generated Him apart from time; for through Him both times and ages came to be. Yet we must not consider the Son to be co unbegun and co-ingenerate with the Father; for no one can be properly called Father or Son of one who is co-unbegun and co-ingenerate with him. But we acknowledge that the Father, who alone is Unbegun and Ingenerate, hath generated inconceivably and incomprehensibly to all; and that the Son hath been generated before ages, and in no wise to be ingenerate Himself like the Father, but to have the Father who generated Him as His beginning; for "the Head of Christ is God."

(3) Nor again, in confessing three realities and three Persons, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost according to the Scriptures, do we therefore make Gods three; since we acknowledge the Self-complete and Ingenerate and Unbegun and Invisible God to be one only, the God and Father of the Only-begotten, who alone hath being from Himself, and alone vouchsafes this to all others bountifully.

(4) Nor again, in saying that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is one only God, the only Ingenerate, do we therefore deny that Christ also is God before ages; as the disciples of Paul of Samosata, who say that after the Incarnation He was by advance made God, from being made by nature a mere man. For we acknowledge that, though he be subordinate to His Father and God, yet, being before ages begotten of God, He is God perfect according to nature and true, and not first man and then God, but first God and then becoming man for us, and never having been deprived of being.

(5) We abhor, besides, and anathematize those who make a pretence of saying that He is but the mere Word of God and unexisting, having His being in another—now, as if pronounced, as some speak: now, as mental—holding that He was not Christ or Son of God or mediator or image of God before ages; but that He first became Christ and Son of God when He took our flesh from the Virgin, not quite four hundred years since. For they will have it that then Christ began His kingdom, and that it will have an end after the consummation of all and the judgment. Such are the disciples of Marcellus and Scotinus of Galatian Ancyra, who, equally with Jews, negative Christ's existence before ages, and His Godhead, and unending kingdom, upon pretence of supporting the divine Monarchy. We, on the contrary, regard Him not as simply God's pronounced word or mental, but as Living God and Word, existing in Himself, and Son of God and Christ; being and abiding with His Father before all ages, and that not in foreknowledge only, and ministering to Him for the whole framing whether of things visible or invisible. For He it is to whom the Father said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness"; Who also was seen in His own Person

by the patriarchs, gave the law, spoke by the prophets and, at last, became man, and manifested His own Father to all men, and reigns to never-ending ages. For Christ has taken no recent dignity, but we have believed Him to be perfect from the first, and like in all things to the Father.

(6) And those who say that the Father and Son and Holy Ghost are the same, and irreligiously take the Three Names of one and the same Reality and Person, we justly proscribe from the Church, because they suppose the illimitable and impassible Father to be limitable withal and passible through His becoming man; for such are they whom Romans call Patripassians, and we Sabellians. For we acknowledge that the Father, who sent, remained in the peculiar state of His unchangeable Godhead; and that Christ, who was sent, fulfilled the economy of the Incarnation.

(7) And, at the same time, those who irreverently say that the Son has been generated not by choice or will, thus encompassing God with a necessity which excludes choice and purpose, so that He begat the Son unwillingly, we account as most irreligious and alien to the Church; in that they have dared to define such things concerning God, beside the common notions concerning Him, nay, beside the purport of divinely inspired Scripture. For we, knowing that God is absolute and sovereign over Himself, have a religious judgment that He generated the Son voluntarily and freely; yet, as we have a reverent belief in the Son's words concerning Himself, "The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works," we do not understand Him to have been originated like the creatures or works which through Him came to be. For it is irreligious and alien to the ecclesiastical faith to compare the Creator with handiworks created by Him, and to think that He has the same manner of origination with the rest. For divine Scripture teaches us really and truly that the Only-begotten Son was generated sole and solely. Yet, in saying that the Son is in Himself, and both lives and exists like the Father, we do not on that account separate Him from the Father, imagining place and interval between their union in the way of bodies. For we believe that they are united with each other without mediation or distance, and that they exist inseparable; all the Father embosoming the Son, and all

the Son hanging and adhering to the Father, and alone resting on the Father's breast continually. Believing then in the all-perfect Triad, that is, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and calling the Father God, and the Son God, yet we confess in them not two Gods but one dignity of Godhead, and one exact harmony of dominion, the Father alone being head over the whole universe wholly, and over the Son Himself, and the son subordinated to the Father; but, excepting Him, ruling over all things after Him which through Himself have come to be, and granting the grace of the Holy Ghost unsparingly to the saints at the Father's will. For that such is the account of the Divine Monarchy towards Christ, the sacred oracles have delivered to us.

Thus much in addition to the faith before published in epitome, we have been compelled to draw forth at length, not in any officious display, but to clear away all unjust suspicion concerning our opinions, among those who are ignorant of our affairs; and that all in the West may know both the audacity of the slanders of the heterodox, and as to the Orientals their ecclesiastical mind in the Lord, to which the divinely inspired Scriptures bear witness without violence, where men are not perverse.—*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 462–4.

No. 21.—The Delivery of the Creed, 348

From Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, 350–†86, *Catecheses* [347], v. § 12 (*Op.* i. 78; *P.G.* xxxiii. 521 B).

[§ 12] But in learning the Faith and in professing it, acquire and keep that only which is now delivered to thee by the Church, and which has been built up strongly out of all the Scriptures. For since all cannot read the Scriptures, some being hindered as to the knowledge of them by want of learning, and others by a want of leisure, in order that the soul may not perish from ignorance, we comprise the whole doctrine of the Faith in a few lines. This summary I wish you both to commit to memory when I recite it, and to rehearse it with all diligence among yourselves, not writing it out on paper, but engraving it by the memory upon your heart, taking care while you rehearse it

that no catechumen chance to overhear the things which have been delivered to you. I wish you also to keep this as a provision through the whole course of your life, and besides this to receive no other, neither if we ourselves should change and contradict our present teaching, nor if an adverse angel, "transformed into an angel of light," should wish to lead you astray. "For though we or an angel from heaven preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, let him be to you anathema." So for the present listen while I simply say the Creed, and commit it to memory; but at the proper season expect the confirmation out of Holy Scripture of each part of the contents.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vii. 32. [For the Creed, as Cyril said it, see *N. & P.-N.F.* vii., p. xlvii.; F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 142; or C. H. Turner, *The Use of Creeds and Anathemas*, 100.]

No. 22.—The Sacramentary, *c.* 350, of Sarapion, Bishop of Thmuis

From *J.T.S.* i. 104–8, 266–7.

(i) [THE ANAPHORA.]

A Prayer of Offering of Bishop Sarapion.

It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify thee the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ. We praise thee, O uncreated God, who art unsearchable, ineffable, incomprehensible by any created substance. We praise thee who art known of thy Son, the only-begotten, who through him art spoken of and interpreted and made known to created nature. We praise thee who knowest the Son and revealest to the Saints the glories that are about him: who art known of thy begotten Word, and art brought to the sight and interpreted to the understanding of the Saints. We praise thee, O unseen Father, provider of immortality. Thou art the fount of life, the fount of light, the fount of all grace and all truth, O lover of men, O lover of the poor, who reconcilest thyself to all, and drawest all to thyself through the advent of thy beloved Son. We beseech thee make us living men. Give us a spirit of light, that "we may know thee the true [God] and him whom thou

didst send (even) Jesus Christ." Give us holy Spirit, that we may be able to tell forth and to enuntiate thy unspeakable mysteries. May the Lord Jesus speak in us and holy Spirit, and hymn thee through us.

For thou art "far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come." Beside thee stand thousand thousands and myriad myriads of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers: by thee stand the two most honourable six-winged seraphim, with two wings covering the face, and with two the feet, and with two flying and crying holy, with whom receive also our cry of "holy" as we say:

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD OF SABAOTH, FULL IS THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH OF THY GLORY.

Full is the heaven, full also is the earth of thy excellent glory. Lord of Hosts, fill also this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation: for to thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation.

To thee we have offered this bread, the likeness of the body of the only-begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy body, because the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed took bread and broke and gave to his disciples saying, "Take ye and eat, this is my body which is being broken for you for remission of sins." Wherefore we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread, and beseech thee through this sacrifice, be reconciled to all of us and be merciful, O God of truth: and as this bread had been scattered on the top of the mountains and gathered together came to be one, so also gather thy holy Church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house and make one living catholic church.

We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper, said to his own disciples, "Take ye, drink, this is the new covenant, which is my blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins." Wherefore we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the blood.

O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become blood of the Truth; and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach.

[The Intercession.]

For we have invoked thee, the uncreated, through the only-begotten in holy Spirit. Let this people receive mercy, let it be counted worthy of advancement, let angels be sent forth as companions to the people for bringing to naught of the evil one and for establishment of the Church.

We intercede also on behalf of all who have been laid to rest, whose memorial we are making.

(*The Diptychs of the Dead are recited.*)

After the recitation of the names: Sanctify these souls: for thou knowest all. Sanctify all (souls) laid to rest in the Lord. And number them with all thy holy powers and give to them a place and a mansion in thy kingdom.

Receive also the thanksgiving (eucharist) of the people, and bless those who have offered the offerings and the thanksgivings, and grant health and soundness and cheerfulness and all advancement of soul and body to this whole people through the only-begotten Jesus Christ in holy Spirit.

[*The People.*]

As it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

[The Fraction.]

After the prayer (*comes*) *the fraction, and in the fraction a prayer.*

Count us worthy of this communion also, O God of truth, and make our bodies to contain purity and our souls prudence and knowledge. And make us wise, O God of compassions, by the participation of the body and the

blood, because through thy only-begotten to thee (is) the glory and the strength in Holy Spirit, now and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

[The Lord's Prayer.]

. . . . . .

[The Communion.]

The Clergy communicate.

After giving the fraction (i.e. the broken bread) to the clerics, imposition of hands (i.e. Benediction) of [i.e. to] the people.

I stretch out the hand upon this people and pray that the hand of the truth may be stretched out and blessing given to this people on account of thy loving kindness, O God of compassions, and the mysteries that are present. May a hand of piety and power and sound discipline and cleanness and all holiness bless this people, and continually preserve it to advancement and improvement through thy only-begotten Jesus Christ in Holy Spirit both now and to all (the) ages of the ages. Amen.

The People communicate.

After the distribution of (i.e. to) the people(is this) prayer.

We thank thee, Master, that thou hast called those who have erred, and hast taken to thy self those who have sinned, and hast set aside the threat that was against us, giving indulgence by thy loving kindness, and wiping it away by repentance, and casting it off by the knowledge that regards thyself. We give thanks to thee, that thou hast given us communion of (the) body and blood. Bless us, bless this people, make us to have a part with the body and the blood through thy only-begotten Son, through whom to thee (is) the glory and the strength in holy Spirit both now and ever and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

(ii) [ORDINATIONS.]

["It is interesting . . . to note the contrast between Serapion's forms of ordination and the Bull *Apostolicæ curæ* of Leo XIII. The Pontiff's condemnation applies with more justice to Serapion than to the Anglican Ordinal. In the form of presbyteral ordination there is

'nulla aperta mentio'—in fact, no mention whatsoever—'sacrificii, consecrationis, sacerdotii, potestatisque consecrandi et sacrificii offerendi'—and consequently 'id reticit quod deberet proprium significare'; and in the form of episcopal consecration there is nothing of the 'summum sacerdotium' . . . or of any sacramental act."—F. E. Brightman in *J.T.S.* i. 259–60.]

[Of Deacons.]

Laying on of hands of the making of Deacons.

Father of the only-begotten who didst send thy Son and didst ordain the things on the earth, and hast given rules to the Church and orders for the profit and salvation of the flocks, who didst choose out Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons for the Ministry of thy catholic Church, who didst choose through thine only-begotten the seven Deacons, and didst freely give to them holy Spirit, make also this man a Deacon of thy catholic Church, and give in him a spirit of knowledge and discernment, that he may be able cleanly and unblameably to do service in this ministry in the midst of the holy people, through thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom to thee (is) the glory and the strength in holy Spirit both now and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

[Of Presbyters.]

Laying on of hands of the making of Presbyters.

We stretch forth the hand O Lord God of the heavens, Father of thy only-begotten, upon this man, and beseech thee that the Spirit of truth may dwell (*or* settle) upon him. Give him the grace of prudence and knowledge and a good heart. Let a divine Spirit come to be in him that he may be able to be a steward of thy people and an ambassador of thy divine oracles, and to reconcile thy people to thee the uncreated God, who didst give of the spirit of Moses upon the chosen ones, even holy Spirit. Give a portion of holy Spirit also to this man, from the Spirit of thy only-begotten, for the grace of wisdom and knowledge and right faith, that he may be able to serve thee in a clean conscience, through thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom to thee (is) the glory and the strength in holy Spirit both now and for all the ages of the ages. Amen.

[Of a Bishop.]

Laying on of hands of the making of a Bishop.

Thou who didst send the Lord Jesus for the gain of all the world, thou who didst through him choose the apostles, thou who generation by generation dost ordain holy Bishops, O God of truth, make this Bishop also a living Bishop, holy [1] of the succession of the holy apostles, and give to him grace and divine Spirit, that thou didst freely give to all thy own (γνησίοις) servants and prophets and patriarchs : make him to be worthy to shepherd thy flock and let him still continue unblameably and inoffensively in the Bishopric through thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom to thee (is) the glory and the strength in Holy Spirit both now and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

John Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-book*, 60–6, 72–4 (modified by reference to Dr. Brightman's edition of the text in *J.T.S.* i., as above).

No. 23.—The Relations of Church and State, 355

From Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, 296 -†357, *ap.* Ath. *Hist. Ar.* § 44 (*Op.* i. 293; *P.G.* xxv. 745–8).

[§ 44] Hosius to Constantius the Emperor sends health in the Lord.

I was a Confessor at the first, when a persecution arose in the time of your grandfather Maximian; and, if you shall persecute me, I am ready now too to endure anything rather than to shed innocent blood and to betray the truth. But I cannot approve of your conduct in writing after this threatening manner. Cease to write thus; adopt not the cause of Arius, nor listen to those in the East, nor give credit to Ursacius and Valens. For whatever they assert, it is not on account of Athanasius, but for the sake of their own heresy. Believe my statement, O Constantius, who am of an age to be your grandfather. I was present at the Council of Sardica, when you and your brother Constans of blessed memory assembled us all together; and on my

[1] ἅγιον.—Perhaps we should read ἄξιον, "worthy."

own account I challenged the enemies of Athanasius, when they came to the church where I abode, that if they had anything against him they might declare it; desiring them to have confidence, and not to expect otherwise than that a right judgment would be passed in all things. This I did once and again, requesting them if they were unwilling to appear before the whole Council, yet to appear before me alone; promising them also that, if he should be proved guilty, he should certainly be rejected by us; but, if he should be found to be blameless, and should prove them to be calumniators, that if they should then refuse to hold communion with him, I would persuade him to go with me into Spain. Athanasius was willing to comply with these conditions, and made no objection to my proposal; but they, altogether distrusting their cause, would not consent . . .

Cease, then, these proceedings, I beseech you, and remember that you are a mortal man. Be afraid of the day of judgment, and keep yourself pure thereunto. Intrude not yourself into ecclesiastical matters, neither give commands unto us concerning them; but learn them from us. God hath put into your hands the kingdom; to us He hath entrusted the affairs of His Church; and, as he who should steal the Empire from you would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise fear on your part lest, by taking upon yourself the government of the Church, you become guilty of a great offence. It is written, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Neither, therefore, is it permitted unto us to exercise an earthly rule; nor have you, Sire, any authority to burn incense. These things I write unto you out of a concern for your salvation. With regard to the subject of your letters, this is my determination: I will not write myself to the Arians; I anathematize their heresy. Neither will I subscribe against Athanasius, whom both we and the Church of the Romans, and the whole Council, pronounced to be guiltless.—*L.F.* xiii. 256–8.

No. 24.—A Plea for Liberty of Conscience

From Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, 350-†68, *Ad Const. Aug.* i. [355–6], § 6 (*Op.* ii. 538 *sq.*; *P.L.* x. 561).

[§ 6] No one now is in doubt how those holy men [*sc.* the Council of Sardica] took up the task of vindicating Athanasius; in order that, after they had given their decision in Synod and after this, in accordance with the respect due to a judgment of bishops, had been confirmed, as was held right, by the consent of the episcopate and the Church, letters should be written to the Emperor and an Embassy appointed. What else do they ask for in these letters than freedom for their religion and from the taint of professing Arians? What else do they petition than that an end should be put to bonds, imprisonments, tribunals and all that array of cruelty, to fresh examinations also of the accused? God has taught men the knowledge of Himself; He has not exacted it. By his wonderful and heavenly operations, He wins authority for His precepts, and rejects a will that only confesses Him perforce. If force of that sort were employed to promote true religion, the teaching of a bishop would go out to meet it and say: "He does not need service under stress of necessity: He does not want worship under compulsion: He is to be adored for our sake rather than for His own. I cannot receive a man, unless he is willing; nor hearken, unless he prays; nor accept, unless he believes. A man must seek God in singleness of heart; get to know Him in worship; love Him in charity; revere Him with fear; and hold fast to Him by uprightness of purpose." What then is the meaning of this, that bishops are compelled by bonds and forced under penalties to fear God? Bishops are held fast in prisons; their flocks are kept in custody under chains; virgins are stripped for punishment, and bodies dedicated to God are exposed to public gaze that men may enjoy the sight of a show or of an examination by torture. They compel everybody to become not Christians but Arians; and they are such criminals as to force men by a confession of God to share their own guilty conduct.—K.

No. 25.—The Blasphemy of Potamius, 357

From the Third Council of Sirmium, 357, *ap.* Hilary, *De Synodis* [358], § 11 (*Op.* ii. 464–6; *P.L.* x. 487–9).

[§ 11] Since there appeared to be some misunderstanding respecting the faith, all points have been carefully investigated and discussed at Sirmium in the presence of our most reverend brothers and fellow-bishops, Valens, Ursacius and Germinius.

It is evident that there is one God, the Father Almighty, according as it is believed throughout the whole world; and His only Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, begotten of Him before the ages. But we cannot and ought not to say that there are two Gods, for the Lord Himself said, "I will go unto My Father and your Father, unto My God and your God." So there is one God over all, as the Apostle hath taught us. "Is He the God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: seeing it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith." And in all other things they agreed thereto, nor would they allow any difference.

But since some or many persons were disturbed by questions concerning substance, called in Greek οὐσία, that is, to make it understood more exactly, as to ὁμοούσιον, or what is called ὁμοιούσιον, there ought to be no mention of these at all. Nor ought any exposition to be made of them for the reason and consideration that they are not contained in the divine Scriptures, and that they are above man's understanding, nor can any man declare the birth of the Son, of whom it is written, "Who shall declare His generation?" For it is plain that only the Father knows how He begat the Son, and the Son how He was begotten of the Father. There is no question that the Father is greater. No one can doubt that the Father is greater than the Son in honour, dignity, splendour, majesty, and in the very name of Father, the Son Himself testifying, "He that sent Me is greater than I." And no one is ignorant that it is Catholic doctrine that there are two Persons of Father and Son; and that the Father is greater, and that the Son is subordinated to the Father, together with all things which the Father has subordinated to Him, and that the Father

has no beginning and is invisible, immortal and impassible, but that the Son has been begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, and that the generation of this Son, as is aforesaid, no one knows but His Father. And that the Son of God Himself, our Lord and God, as we read, took flesh, that is, a body, that is man, of the womb of the Virgin Mary, as the Angel announced. And as all the Scriptures teach, and especially the doctor of the Gentiles himself, He took of Mary the Virgin, man through whom He suffered. And the whole faith is summed up and secured in this, that the Trinity must always be preserved, as we read in the Gospel, "Go ye and baptize all nations, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Complete and perfect is the number of the Trinity. Now the Paraclete, the Spirit, is through the Son, who was sent and came according to His promise in order to instruct, teach and sanctify the apostles and all believers.—*N. & P.-N.F.* ix. 6 *sq.*

No. 26.—Reasons for the Rejection of *Homoousion* Illusory

From Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, 350–†68, *De Synodis* [358], § 81 (*Op.* ii. 508 *sq.*; *P.L.* x. 534).

[§ 81] Your letter on the meaning of ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον, which Valens, Ursacius and Germinius demanded should be read at Sirmium,[1] I understand to have been on certain points no less cautious than outspoken. And with regard to ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον your proof has left no difficulty untouched. As to the latter, which implies the similarity of essence, our opinions are the same. But in dealing with the ὁμοούσιον, or the one essence, you declared that it ought to be rejected because the use of this word led to the idea that there was a prior substance which two Persons had divided between themselves. I see the flaw in that way of taking it. Any such sense is profane, and must be rejected by the Church's common decision. The second reason that you added was that of our fathers, when Paul of Samosata was pronounced a

[1] Fourth Council of Sirmium, 358.

heretic, also rejected the word ὁμοούσιον, on the ground that by attributing this title to God he had taught that He was single and undifferentiated, and at once Father and Son to Himself. Wherefore the Church still regards it as most profane to exclude the different personal qualities; and, under the mask of the aforesaid expressions, to revive the error of confounding the Persons and denying the personal distinctions in the Godhead. Thirdly, you mentioned this reason for disapproving of the ὁμοούσιον, that in the Council of Nicæa our fathers were compelled to adopt the word on account of those who said the Son was a creature; although it ought not to be accepted, because it is not to be found in Scripture. Your saying this causes me some astonishment. For if the word ὁμοούσιον must be repudiated on account of its novelty, I am afraid that the word ὁμοιούσιον, which is equally absent in Scripture, is in some danger.—*N. & P.-N.F.* ix. 25 *sq.*

No. 27.—The Homoiousion and the Homoousion, 358

From the Synodal Letter of the Council of Ancyra, 358, *ap.* Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxxiii. § 9 (*Op.* ii. 855 *sq.*; *P.G.* lxxiii. 420).

[§ 9] Just as He was "made in the likeness of men," and was man, and not in every respect man (He was man in that He took human flesh, since "the Word became flesh"; but He was not man, in that He was not begotten like men—of seed and of copulation): so also the Son, who was before ages, is God in so far as He is Son of God, precisely as He is man in so far as He is Son of man. But He is not one and the same with the God and Father who begat Him: precisely as He is not one and the same with man, being [begotten] without emission and passion, without seed and pleasure. [He is] "in the likeness of sinful flesh," in so far as He submitted Himself to hunger and thirst and sleep in His flesh—such infirmities as those by which the body is incited to sin. But, though He submitted Himself to the aforesaid infirmities of the flesh, He was not thereby incited to sin. So too, being Son of God and "existing to start with, in the form of God and being on an equality

with God," He had the properties of the Godhead, in that He is in essence incorporeal and like the Father in respect of Godhead and incorporeality and operations (just as He is like flesh in being flesh and submitting Himself to the passions of flesh); yet He is not one and the same with God, inasmuch as being God, He is neither "the form of God," but God; nor "on an equality with God," but God; nor absolutely [God], as is the Father; precisely as, in so far as propensity to sin goes, He is not man but in operation is like unto man.—K.

No. 28.—The Dated Creed, May 22, 359

From Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, *ap.* Athanasius, *De synodis* [359], § 8 (*Op.* ii. 576; *P.G.* xxvi. 692 *sqq.*).

The Catholic Faith was published in the presence of our Master the most religious and gloriously victorious Emperor Constantius, Augustus, the eternal and august, in the consulate of the most illustrious Flavii, Eusebius and Hypatius, in Sirmium, on the eleventh of the Kalends of June.

We believe in one Only and True God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Framer of all things;

And in one Only-begotten Son of God, who, before all ages, and before all origin, and before all conceivable time, and before all comprehensible essence, was begotten impassibly from God; through whom the ages were disposed and all things were made; and Him begotten as the Only-begotten, Only from the only Father, God from God, like unto the Father who begat Him, according to the Scriptures; whose origin no one knoweth save the Father alone who begat Him. We know that He, the Only-begotten Son of God, at the Father's bidding came from the heavens for the abolishment of sin, and was born of the Virgin Mary, and conversed with the disciples, and fulfilled the Economy according to the Father's will, and was crucified, and died and descended into the parts beneath the earth, and regulated the things there, whom the gate-keepers of hell saw and shuddered; and He rose from the dead the third day, and conversed with the disciples, and fulfilled all the Economy, and when the forty days were full, ascended into the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father,

and is coming in the last day of the resurrection in the glory of the Father, to render to every one according to his works.

And in the Holy Ghost, whom the Only-begotten of God Himself, Jesus Christ, had promised to send to the race of men, the Paraclete, as it is written, "I go to My Father, and He shall send unto you another Paraclete, even the Spirit of Truth: He shall take of Mine, and shall teach and bring to your remembrance all things."

But, whereas the term "essence" has been adopted by the Fathers in simplicity, and gives offence as being misconceived by the people, and is not contained in the Scriptures, it has seemed good to remove it, that it be never in any case used of God again, because the divine Scriptures nowhere use it of Father and Son. But we say that the Son is like the Father in all things, as also the Holy Scriptures say and teach.—*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 454.

No. 29.—The Autobiography of Julian to 361

From his *Ep. ad Athenienses* (*Op.* 270–287).

[270 C] First, I will begin with my ancestors.

That on the father's side I am descended from the same stock as Constantius on his father's side is well known. Our fathers were brothers, sons of the same father. And close kinsmen as we were, how this most humane Emperor treated us! Six of my cousins and his, and my father who was his own uncle [D] and also another uncle of both of us on the father's side, and my eldest brother he put to death without a trial; and as for me and my other brother,[1] he intended to put us to death, but finally inflicted exile upon us; and from that exile he released me, but him he stripped of the title of Cæsar just before he murdered him. . . .

[271 B] As I said, they kept telling us and tried to convince us that Constantius had acted thus, partly because he was deceived and partly because he yielded to the violence and tumult of an undisciplined and mutinous army. This was the strain they kept up to soothe us when

[1] Gallus.

we had been imprisoned in a certain farm[1] in Cappadocia; and they allowed no one to come near us, after they had summoned him from Tralles and had dragged me from the schools, though I was still a mere boy. [C] How shall I describe the six years we spent there? For we lived as though on the estate of a stranger, and were watched as though we were in some Persian garrison, since no stranger came to see us and not one of our old friends was allowed to visit us; so that we lived shut off from every liberal study and from all free intercourse, in a glittering servitude, [D] and sharing the exercises of our own slaves as though they were comrades. For no companion of our own age ever came near us or was allowed to do so. . . .

[277] . . . And immediately I was invested with the title and robe of Cæsar. The slavery that ensued and the fear for my very life that hung over me every day, Heracles, how great it was, and how terrible! [B] My doors locked, wardens to guard them, the hands of my servants searched lest one of them should convey to me the most trifling letter from my friends, strange servants to wait on me! Only with difficulty was I able to bring with me to court four of my own domestics for personal service, two of them mere boys and two older men, of whom only one knew of my attitude to the gods, and, as far as he was able, secretly joined me in their worship. [C] I had entrusted with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends, a certain physician[2] who had been allowed to leave home with me because it was not known that he was my friend. [D] Constantius gave me three hundred and sixty soldiers, and in the middle of the winter[3] dispatched me into Gaul, which was then in a state of great disorder. . . .

[278 D] . . . After that, Constantius . . . handed over to me in the beginning of spring,[4] the command of all the forces. And when the grain was ripe I took the field; for a great number [279] of Germans had settled themselves with impunity near the towns they had sacked in Gaul. Now the number of towns whose walls had been dismantled was about forty-five, without counting citadels and smaller

[1] The castle of Macellum.
[2] Oribasius.
[3] A.D. 355.
[4] A.D. 357.

forts. And the barbarians then controlled on our side of the Rhine the whole country that extends from its sources to the Ocean. . . . [B] . . . This was the condition of Gaul when I took it over. I recovered the city of Agrippina[1] on the Rhine which had been taken about ten months earlier, and also the neighbouring fort of Argentoratum,[2] near the foot-hills of the Vosges mountains, and there I engaged the enemy not ingloriously. [C] It may be that the fame of that battle has reached even your ears. There though the gods gave into my hands as prisoner of war the king of the enemy, I did not begrudge Constantius the glory of that success. . . . [D] It was not I but he who triumphed. . . . [280 C] It would take too long to enumerate everything and to write down every detail of the task that I accomplished within four years. But to sum it all up: Three times, while I was still Cæsar, I crossed the Rhine: twenty thousand persons who were held as captives on the further side of the Rhine I demanded and received back: in two battles and one siege I took captive ten thousand prisoners, and those not of unserviceable age, but men in the prime of life; [D] I sent to Constantius four levies of excellent infantry, three more of infantry not so good, and two very distinguished squadrons of cavalry. I have now with the help of the gods recovered all the towns, and by that time I had already recovered almost forty. I call Zeus and all the gods who protect cities and our race to bear witness as to my behaviour towards Constantius and loyalty to him, and that I behaved to him as I would have chosen that my own son should behave to me.

. . . [282 C] Constantius . . . [D] . . . gave orders for the withdrawal from Gaul of, I might almost say, the whole of the most efficient troops without exception. . . . [283] . . . Meanwhile [B] there was great excitement among the civilians and the troops, and some one wrote an anonymous letter to the town near where I was,[3] addressed to the Petulantes and the Celts—these were the names of the legions—full of invectives against Constantius and of lamentations about his betrayal of the Gauls. Moreover, the author of the

[1] Köln. [2] Strassburg. [3] Paris.

letter lamented bitterly the disgrace inflicted on myself. . . . [284 B] . . . It was already late, when about sunset the news was brought to me, and suddenly the palace was surrounded and they all began to shout aloud, while I was still considering what I ought to do and feeling by no means confident. . . . [D] . . . I did not yield without reluctance, but resisted as long as I could: and would not accept either the salutation[1] or the diadem. But since I could not single handed control so many . . . somewhere about the third hour some soldier or other gave me the collar and I put it on my head and returned to the palace . . . [285] terribly ashamed, and ready to sink into the earth at the thought of not seeming to obey Constantius faithfully to the last. . . .

[286 D] . . . These then were the events that persuaded me; this was the conduct I thought just. . . . [287] . . . If even now he would welcome a reconciliation with me [B] I would keep to what I at present possess; but if he should decide to go to war and will in no wise relent from his earlier purpose, then I ought to do and to suffer whatever is the will of the gods.—W. C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, ii. 249–89.

No. 30.—Julian's Withdrawal of Clerical Immunities, March 13, 362

From *Cod. Theod.* XII. i. 50.

Councillors who, as Christians, claim exemption from public burdens, are to be restored to the tax-roll.—K.

No. 31.—Julian's Edict *Magistros studiorum*, June 17, 362

From *Cod. Theod.* XIII. iii. 5.

Seeing that it is expedient that all masters and teachers be patterns not less of morality than of eloquence, and seeing that I cannot be present in person in each individual township, be it enacted that, whoever desires the work of a teacher, do not intrude into the office suddenly or rashly

[1] *sc.* the title of Augustus.

but that, after orderly examination held, his appointment be sanctioned by decree of the *curiales* with consent and confirmation of the *optimi*. Such decree shall be transmitted to me for endorsement, that under our sanction teachers may with more exalted honour conduct the studies of the townships.—G. H. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian*, 205.

No. 32.—Julian, to the People of Bostra, on Toleration. Aug. 1, 362

From Julian, *Ep.* lii. (*Op.* 435–8; Teubner, 1876).

I thought that the prelates of the Galilæans had been under [436] greater obligations to me than to my predecessor. For in his reign many of them were banished, persecuted and imprisoned; and numbers of those, who are styled heretics, were put to death, particularly at Samosata and Cyzicus; and in Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and many other provinces, whole villages were laid waste and entirely depopulated. [B] In my reign the reverse has happened, for they who had been banished are allowed to return; and to those whose goods had been confiscated, all have been restored. Such, nevertheless, are their madness and folly, that, because they can no more tyrannize, or perpetrate what they had projected, first against their brethren, and then against us, the worshippers of the gods, enraged and exasperated, they move every stone and dare to alarm [C] and inflame the people; impious towards the gods, and disobedient to our edicts, humane as they are. For we suffer none of them to be dragged to the altars against their will. We also publicly declare, that, if any are desirous to partake of our lustrations and libations, they must first offer sacrifices of expiation, and supplicate the gods, the averters of evil. So far are we from wishing to admit any of the irreligious to our sacred rites [D] before they have purified their souls by prayers to the gods, and their bodies by legal ablutions.

The populace, therefore, deluded by those who are called the clergy, as the severity above mentioned is abolished, grow tumultuous. For they who have been used to tyrannize, [437] not satisfied with impunity for their past crimes, but ambitious of their former power, because they

are no longer permitted to act as judges, or make wills, or embezzle the estates of others, and appropriate everything to themselves, all, if I may so say, pull the ropes of sedition, and, as the proverb expresses it, heap fuel on the fire, and scruple not to add greater evils to the former by urging the multitude to commotions.

It is my pleasure, therefore, to declare and publish to all the people, by this [B] edict, that they must not abet the seditions of the clergy, nor suffer themselves to be induced by them to throw stones, and disobey the magistrates. They may assemble together, if they please, and offer up such prayers as they have established for themselves. But if the clergy endeavour to persuade them to foment disturbances on their account, let them by no means concur, on pain of punishment.

[C] I thought proper to make this declaration to the city of Bostra in particular, because the bishop, Titus, and the clergy, in a memorial which they have presented to me, have accused the people of being inclined to raise disturbances, if they had not been restrained by their admonitions. I transcribe the words which the bishop has dared to insert in that [D] memorial: "Though the Christians are as numerous as the Gentiles, they are restrained by our exhortations from being tumultuous." These are the words of the bishop concerning you. Observe, he does not ascribe your regularity to your own inclination; unwillingly, he says, [438] you refrain "by his exhortations." As your accuser, therefore, expel him from the city. And, for the future, let the people agree among themselves; let no one be at variance, or do an injury to another; neither you, who are in error, to those who worship the gods, rightly and justly, in the mode transmitted to us from the most ancient times; nor let the worshippers of the gods destroy or plunder the houses of those who rather by ignorance [B] than choice are led astray. Men should be taught and persuaded by reason, not by blows, invectives, and corporal punishments. I therefore again and again admonish those who embrace the true religion in no respect to injure or insult the Galilæans, neither by attacks nor reproaches. We should rather pity than hate those who in the most important concerns [C] act ill. For as piety is the greatest of

blessings, impiety, certainly, is the greatest of evils. Such is their fate who turn from the immortal gods to dead men and their relics. With those who are thus unhappy we condole, but them who are freed and delivered by the gods we congratulate.

Given at Antioch on the calends of August [362]. — J. Duncombe, *Select Works of the Emperor Julian*, ii. 142–7.

No. 33. — Julian to Artabius, on Toleration, 362

From Julian, *Ep.* vii. (*Op.* 376: Teubner, 1876).

[C] . . . By the gods, I would neither have the Galilæans put to death, nor scourged, unjustly, nor in any other manner ill-treated. I think it, nevertheless, highly proper that the worshippers of the gods should be preferred to them. By the madness of the Galilæans, the Empire was almost ruined, but by [D] the goodness of the gods we are now preserved. We ought, therefore, to honour the gods, and also religious men and states.—J. Duncombe, *Select Works of the Emperor Julian*, ii., 13 *sq.*

No. 34.—Julian's Pastoral Letter to Arsacius, High Priest of Galatia, 362–3

From Julian, *Ep.* xlix. (*Op.* 429–32: Teubner, 1876).

[C] That Hellenism does not succeed as we wish is owing to its professors. The gifts of the gods are, indeed, great and splendid, and far superior to all our hopes, to all our wishes. For (be Nemesis propitious to my words) [D] not long ago no one dared to hope for such and so great a change in so short a time. But why should we be satisfied with this, and not rather attend to the means by which this impiety has increased, namely, humanity to strangers, care in burying the dead, and pretended sanctity [430] of life? All these, I think, should be really practised by us.

It is not sufficient for you only to be blameless. Intreat or compel all the priests that are in Galatia to be also virtuous. If they do not, with their wives, children, and servants, attend the worship of the gods, expel them from the priestly function; and also forbear [B] to converse with the servants, children, and wives of the Galilæans, who are

impious towards the gods, and prefer impiety to religion. Admonish also every priest, not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exercise any trade or employment that is mean and disgraceful. Those who obey you, honour; and those who disobey you, expel. Erect also hospitals in every city, that [C] strangers may partake our benevolence; and not only those of our own religion but, if they are indigent, others also.

How these expenses are to be defrayed must now be considered. I have ordered Galatia to supply you with thirty thousand bushels of wheat every year. Of which the fifth part is to be given to the poor who attend on the priests, and the remainder to be distributed amongst strangers [D] and our own beggars. For when none of the Jews beg, and the impious Galilæans relieve both their own poor and ours, it is shameful that ours should be destitute of our assistance.

Teach, therefore, the Gentiles to contribute to such ministerial functions, and [431] the Gentile villages to offer to the gods their first-fruits. Accustom them to such acts of benevolence, and inform them that this was of old the regal office. For Homer puts these words into the mouth of Eumæus:—

> It never was our guise
> [B] To slight the poor, or aught humane despise;
> For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,
> 'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor.

Let us not suffer others to emulate our good actions, while we ourselves are disgraced by sloth, lest by negligence we lose our reverence for the gods. If I hear that you practise this, I shall overflow with joy.

[C] Visit the Dukes seldom at their houses, but write to them often. Whenever they enter a city let none of the priests go to meet them; but when they resort to the temples, let them be received within the vestibule. When they enter, let none of their guards precede them; but let who will follow them. For as soon as they enter the door of the temple, [D] they become private persons. You yourself, you well know, have a right to precede all who are within it, that being agreeable to the divine law. Those

who are truly pious will obey you, and none will oppose you but the proud, ostentatious, and vainglorious.

I am ready to assist the people of Pessinus, if they can render the Mother of the Gods propitious to them. But, if they neglect her, they will not only be culpable, but, which is more harsh to say, will incur my displeasure :—

> [432] No law requires that they my care should prove,
> Or pity, hated by the powers above.

Therefore assure them that, if they wish for my protection, all the people must supplicate the Mother of the Gods.—J. Duncombe, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, ii. 127–34.

No. 35.—Julian's Rescript forbidding Christians to teach the Classics, 363

From *Ep.* xlii. *Op.* 422–4 (ii. 544–7 : Teubner, 1876).

[422] Right education we take to consist not in outward polish of phrase and expression, but in a sound disposition of intelligent thought and in just notions touching virtue and vice, honour and shame. Whoever thinks one thing but teaches his [B] scholars another, falls short from an educational no less than from a moral point of view. If the difference between the mind and the tongue of the teacher extended only to trifles, his dishonesty, though objectionable, might yet be tolerated. But where the subject is all-important and the teacher instils the exact contrary of his own convictions, it becomes nothing less than intellectual huckstering, the immoral and [C] shameful trade of men who teach most energetically what they contemn most completely, to cajole and inveigle by sham commendations those to whom they wish to dispose of their own—I can give it no better name—bad stuff.

All would-be educators must be moral, and must sincerely hold opinions not antagonistic to current beliefs ; more especially those who are engaged in the education of the young, as expounders of the old classical [D] authors, whether as rhetoricians, or grammarians, or, above all, as sophists. For sophists, apart from other claims, affect to be teachers o morals as well as language, and claim social

philosophy as their proper province. How far this is true or untrue we need not stay to enquire. But in commending the lofty aim of their professions, I could commend them more highly if they spoke the truth, and did not stand self-convicted of believing one thing and teaching their hearers another. And in this way [423] Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, Lysias found in the gods the source of all learning. Some esteemed themselves priests of Hermes, others of the Muses. I hold it absurd and improper for those who undertake to expound these authors to dishonour the gods whom they honoured. I do not say—it would be absurd to do so—that they are bound to reform their opinions and remain instructors of the young. I leave them the option of not teaching what they consider [B] vicious; or else, if anxious to continue teaching, of primarily and *bona fide* impressing upon their scholars, that neither Homer nor Hesiod nor any other author, whom in their teaching they have charged with irreligion and theological folly and error, is such as they have represented. Otherwise in drawing the fees for their support from the works of such authors, they own to a mean sordidness, that for the sake of a few pence will go all lengths.

Hitherto, there have been many [C] reasons for not attending at temple worship; the prevailing terrorism furnished some excuse for disguising the truest religious convictions. But now that the gods have granted us liberty, it is monstrous for men any longer to teach what they do not believe sound. If they acknowledge the wisdom of those whose writings they interpret, and whose prophets, as it were, they are, [D] let them first of all imitate their piety towards the gods. But if they feel that they have gone astray concerning the gods, the most adorable, then let them go to the churches of the Galilæans to expound Matthew and Luke, in obedience to whom ye are bidden to abstain from holy rites. And may your ears, as ye would say, and your tongue be born again to those doctrines, to which I pray that I and all that love me in thought or deed may ever cleave.

To guides and instructors of youth this is the law [424] that I ordain for all. None that desire to attend lectures

are debarred. For it is as unreasonable to debar from the right path children ignorant as yet whither they should turn, as to drive them by fear and by force to the religion of their fathers. Indeed it would be right to treat them like imbeciles and heal them against their will, only that allowance has to be [B] made for all afflicted with this kind of malady. Fools are better taught than punished.—G. H. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian*, 207–9.

No. 36.—The Requirements of the Priestly Office

From Julian, *Fragmentum Epistolæ* (*Op.* 304 B–5 D: Teubner, 1876).

[304 B] No priest must anywhere be present at the licentious theatrical shows of the present day, nor introduce one into his own house; for that is altogether unfitting. Indeed if it were possible to banish such shows absolutely from the theatres so as to restore to Dionysus those theatres pure as of old, I should certainly have endeavoured with all my heart to bring this about; [C] but as it is, since I thought that this is impossible, and that even if it should prove to be possible it would not on other accounts be expedient, I forbore entirely from this ambition. But I do demand that priests should withdraw themselves from the licentiousness of the theatres and leave them to the crowd. Therefore let no priest enter a theatre or have an actor or a chariot-driver for his friend; and let no dancer or mime ever approach his door. As for the sacred games [D] I permit any one who will to attend those only in which women are forbidden not only to compete but even to be spectators. With regard to the hunting shows with dogs which are performed in the cities inside the theatres, need I say that not only priests but even the sons of priests must keep away from them?

Now it would perhaps have been well to say earlier from what class of men and by what method priests must be appointed; but it is [305] quite appropriate that my remarks should end with this. I say that the most upright men in every city, by preference those who show most love for the gods, and next those who show most love for their fellowmen, must be appointed, whether they be poor or rich.

And in this matter let there be no distinction whatever whether they are unknown or well known. For the man who by reason of his gentleness has not won notice ought not to be barred by reason of his want of fame. Even though he be poor and a man of the people, if he possess within himself these two things, love for God and love for his fellow-men, let him be appointed priest. [B] And a proof of his love for God is his inducing his own people to show reverence to the gods ; a proof of his love for his fellows is his sharing cheerfully, even from a small store, with those in need, and his giving willingly thereof, and trying to do good to as many men as he is able.

We must pay special attention to this point and by this means effect a cure. For when it came about that the poor were neglected and overlooked [C] by the priests, then I think the impious Galilæans observed this fact and devoted themselves to philanthropy. And they have gained ascendancy in the worst of their deeds through the credit they win for such practices. For just as those who entice children with a cake, and by throwing it to them two or three times induce them to follow them, and then, when they are far away from their friends, cast them on board a ship and sell them as slaves, and that which for the moment seemed sweet, proves to be bitter for all the rest of their lives—[D] by the same method, I say, the Galilæans also begin with their so-called love-feast, or hospitality, or service of tables—for they have many ways of carrying it out, and hence call it by many names—and the result is that they have led very many into atheism.—W. C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, ii. 335–9.

No. 37.—Julian on the Worship of Apollo at Daphne

From Julian, *Misopogon*, *Op.* 361 D–363 C (ii. 467–9 ; Teubner, 1876).

[361 D]. . . In the tenth month according to your reckoning—Loos, I think you call it—there is a certain festival founded by your forefathers in honour of this god, and it was your duty to be zealous in visiting Daphne. Accordingly, I hastened thither from the temple of Zeus

Kasios, thinking that at Daphne, if anywhere, I should enjoy the sight of your wealth and public spirit. And I imagined in [362] my own mind the sort of procession it would be, like a man seeing visions in a dream—beasts for sacrifice, libations, choruses in honour of the god, incense, and the youths of your city there surrounding the shrine, their souls adorned with all holiness and themselves attired in white and splendid raiment. But when I entered the shrine, I found there no incense, not so much as a cake, not a single beast for sacrifice. For the moment I was amazed and thought that I was still outside the shrine, [B] and that you were waiting the signal from me, doing me that honour because I am supreme pontiff. But when I began to enquire what sacrifice the city intended to offer to celebrate the annual festival in honour of the god, the priest answered, "I have brought with me from my own house a goose as an offering to the god, but the city this time has made no preparations."

Thereupon, being fond of making enemies, I made in the Senate a very unseemly speech which perhaps it may now be pertinent to quote to you. "It is a terrible thing," I said, "that so important a city should be more neglectful of the gods than any village on the [C] borders of the Pontus. Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce in her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe; or, if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. [D] Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city's welfare, not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to

priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that [363] is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one of you allows his wife to carry everything out of his house to the Galilæans, and when your wives feed the poor at your expense, they inspire a great admiration for godlessness in those who are in need of such bounty—and of such sort are, I think, the great majority of mankind—while as for yourselves you think that you are doing nothing out of the way when in the first place you are careless of the honours due to the gods, [B] and not one of those in need goes near the temples—for there is nothing there, I think to feed them with—and yet when any one of you gives a birthday feast he provides a dinner and a breakfast without stint and welcomes his friends to a costly table; when, however, the annual festival arrived no one furnished olive oil for a lamp for the god, or a libation, or a beast for sacrifice, or incense. Now I [C] do not know how any good man could endure to see such things in your city, and for my part I am sure that it is displeasing to the gods also."—W. C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, ii. 487–91.

No. 38.—Julian to the Alexandrians, against Athanasius

From Julian, *Ep.* li. *Op.* 432–5 (ii. 556–9; Teubner, 1876).

[432 D] If your city had any other founder, any one of those who, transgressing their own laws, had justly suffered punishment for leading a wicked life, and introducing a new doctrine, a new religion, even then it would have been unreasonable for you to wish for Athanasius. But now, as the founder of your city is Alexander, and your ruler and tutelar deity King Serapis [433], with the virgin his associate and the queen of all Egypt Isis . . . you do not act like a healthy city, but the distempered part dares to arrogate the name of the whole.

By the Gods, men of Alexandria, I am ashamed that any of you should avow himself a Galilæan. The ancestors of the Hebrews were formerly [B] slaves to the Egyptians.

But now, men of Alexandria, you, the conquerors of Egypt (for Egypt was conquered by your founder), sustain a voluntary servitude to the despisers of your national rites, in opposition to your ancient laws; not recollecting your former happiness, when all Egypt held communion with the gods, and enjoyed many blessings. But tell me what advantage [C] has accrued to your city from those who now introduce among you a new religion? Your founder was that pious man Alexander of Macedon, who did not, by Jove, resemble any of these, or any of the Hebrews who far excelled them. Even Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, was also superior to them. As to Alexander, if he had encountered, he would have endangered, even the Romans. [D] What then did the Ptolemies who succeeded your founder? Educating your city, like their own daughter, from her infancy, they did not bring her to maturity by the discourses of Jesus; nor did they construct the form of government, with which she is now blessed, by the doctrine of the odious Galilæans.

Thirdly, after the Romans became its masters, taking it from the bad government of the Ptolemies, Augustus visited your city [434] and thus addressed the citizens: "Men of Alexandria, I acquit your city of all blame, out of regard to the great god Serapis, and also for the sake of the people and the grandeur of the city. A third cause of my kindness to you is my friend Arius." This Arius, the companion of Augustus Cæsar, and a philosopher, was your fellow-citizen.

[B] The particular favours conferred upon your city by the Olympic gods were, in short, such as these. Many more, not to be prolix, I omit. Those blessings which the illustrious gods bestow in common every day, not on one family, nor on a single city, but on the whole world, why do you not acknowledge? Are you alone insensible of the splendour that flows from the sun? Are you alone ignorant that summer and winter are produced [C] by him, and that to him all things owe their life and origin? Do you not also perceive the great advantages that accrue to your city from the moon, from him and by him the disposer of all things? Yet you dare not worship either of these deities; and this Jesus, whom neither you nor your fathers have

seen, you think must necessarily be God the Word; while him whom, from eternity, every generation of mankind has seen and [D] worships, and by worshipping lives happily, the great Sun, I mean, a living, animated, rational, and beneficent image of the intelligible Father you despise. If you listen to my admonition . . . you will, by degrees, return to truth. You will not wander from the right path, if you will be guided by them, who to the twentieth year of his age, pursued that road, but has now worshipped the gods for near twelve years.

[435] If you will follow my advice, my joy will be exuberant. But if you will still persevere in that superstitious institution of designing men, agree, however, among yourselves, and do not desire Athanasius. There are many of his disciples who are abundantly able to please your itching ears, desirous as [B] they are of such impious discourses. I wish that this wickedness were confined to Athanasius and his irreligious school. But you have among you many, not ignoble, of the same sect, and the business is easily done. For any one whom you may select from the people, in what relates to expounding the Scriptures will be by no means inferior to him whom you solicit. But, if you are pleased with the shrewdness of [C] Athanasius (for I hear the man is crafty), and therefore have petitioned, know that for this very reason he was banished. That such an intriguer should preside over the people is highly dangerous; one who is not a man, but a puny, contemptible mortal,[1] one who prides himself on hazarding his life, cannot but create disturbances. That nothing of that kind might happen, I ordered him [D] formerly to leave the city, but I now banish him from all Egypt.

Let this be communicated to our Alexandrians.—J. Duncombe, *Select Works of the Emp. Julian*, i. 136–41.

[1] ἀνθρωπίσκος εὐτέλης: *better*, "common little fellow" [Ed.].

No. 39.—Julian on the Worship of Jesus and the Martyrs, 362–3

From Julian, *Contra Christianos*, ed. C. J. Neumann, 223–5.

[327 A][1] But you are so unfortunate that neither do you abide in those things, which were delivered to you by the apostles; and these by those that succeeded them were rendered worse and more impious. Neither Paul, therefore, nor Matthew, nor Luke nor Mark dared to say that Jesus is God; but good John, perceiving that now [327 B] a great multitude in many of the Grecian and Italian cities were infected with this disease, and hearing, as it appears to me, that the sepulchres of Peter and Paul were privately indeed, but at the same time hearing that they were, worshipped, was the first that dared to assert this.

. . . . . .

[335 B] This evil, however, received its beginning from John. But who can execrate as it deserves what you have invented in addition to this, by introducing many recent dead bodies [in addition to] that ancient dead body? [335 C] You have filled all places with sepulchres and monuments, though it is never said by you anywhere that you are to roll about sepulchres and worship them. But you have proceeded to that degree of depravity, as to think that not even the words of Jesus of Nazareth are to be attended to on this subject. "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and of all [335 D] uncleanness" (Matt. xxiii. 27). If, therefore, Jesus says that sepulchres are full of uncleanness, how is it that you invoke God upon them?—W. Nevins, *Julian against the Christians*, 62–5.

No. 40.—Valentinian I. on Legacy-hunting by Clerics and Religious, 370

From *Ecclesiastici* of July 30, 370 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI. ii. 20).

Ecclesiastics and sons of Ecclesiastics, and those who like to be known as Continents, are not to enter the houses

[1] These references are to Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum* x. (*Op.* ix. 326 *sqq.*; *P.G.* lxxvi. 1001 *sqq.*), where the extracts from Julian appear in the course of Cyril's reply to them.

of widows and wards; but they are to be punished by the public tribunals if hereafter the kindred and relatives of these ladies see fit to accuse them. Moreover, we decree that the offenders aforesaid who have privately, under pretext of religion, attached to themselves any woman, shall not be allowed to profit by any liberality, or last decision of hers; and that every bequest left by any such woman to any such person shall be so far invalid as that, not even through a third party, shall he be able to receive anything whether by gift or bequest. On the contrary, if by any chance, after the warning of this our enactment, they imagine that anything is to be left to them by the gift or last decision of any such woman, it is to be confiscated to the Treasury. If, however, they receive anything by the desire of those to whose succession or goods they are entitled by civil law or under the terms of any edict, then let them claim it as next of kin.—Read in the churches of Rome, July 30 [370], in the third consulate of the Augusti, Valentinian and Valens.—K.

No. 41.—Donatus of Carthage, 315–†55

From Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum* [*c.* 373], iii. § 3 (*C.S.E.L.* xxvi. 73–8).

[c. 3] Secondly, Donatus of Carthage was responsible, for through his poisonous wiles the question of [effecting] unity was first mooted.

I shall be able to show that the makers of unity did nothing at our instigation, nor of their own wickedness, but that everything happened through provocatory causes, which were set in motion by Donatus of Carthage, in his lightness of heart, and were due to the actions of individuals controlled by him, whilst he was struggling to be thought great. . . . Who can deny a fact, to which the whole of Carthage is the leading witness, that the Emperor Constans did not originally send Paul and Macarius to bring about unity, but to be his almoner, in order that the poor people in the various churches might be afforded assistance, by means of which they might breathe anew, be clothed, fed and rejoice?

But when they came to Donatus your father, and told

him why they had come, he, as was usual with him, fell into a rage, and burst out with these words: "What has the Emperor to do with the Church?" And from the fountain of his levity, he poured forth torrents of reproaches no less evil-sounding than those with which he had once upon a time not hesitated to assail the prefect Gregory—calling him "Gregory the stain upon the Senate, the disgrace of the Prefects," and the like. Gregory replied to him with patience worthy of a bishop.

. . . . . .

Why then did Donatus act like a madman? Why was he full of anger? Why did he refuse the gifts which had been sent? For when the commissioners announced that they were going through the different provinces, and that they would give alms to those who were willing to accept them, he declared that he had sent letters everywhere in advance to forbid that anything which had been brought should be distributed anywhere amongst the poor. . . .

He believed that he held dominion over Carthage. . . .

Moreover, in the mouths of the people, he was seldom called a bishop, but was spoken of as "Donatus of Carthage" . . . and though men are wont to swear by God alone, he allowed men to swear by him, as if by God. . . . Again, whilst all those who believed in Christ were, before the day of his insolence, called Christians, he ventured to divide the people with God, so that those who followed him were no longer called Christians, but Donatists; and when any people visited him from any province of Africa, he did not ask those questions (which the custom of men always calls for) about the weather, about peace and war, about the harvest, but to every one who came into his presence he spoke thus: "How goes my party in your part of the world?"—O. R. Vassall-Phillips, *The Works of St. Optatus*, 131–8.

No. 42.—Creation and Restoration

From Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, 328–†73, *De Incarnatione* [*c.* 319], iii. § 3, and vii. §§ 3–5 (ed. A. Robertson: D. Nutt, 1882).

[iii. § 3] For God is good, or rather is essentially the source of goodness; nor could one that is good be niggardly

of anything: whence, grudging existence to none, He has made all things out of nothing by His own Word, Jesus Christ our Lord. And among these, having taken especial pity, above all things on earth, upon the race of men, and having perceived its inability, by virtue of the condition of its origin, to continue in one stay, He gave them a further gift, and He did not barely create man, as He did all the other irrational creatures on the earth; but made them after His own Image, giving them a portion even of the power of His own Word; so that having, as it were, a kind of reflection of the Word, and being made rational, they might be able to abide ever in blessedness, living the true life which belongs to the saints in paradise.

[vii. § 3] But repentance would, first, fail to guard the just claim of God. For He would still be none the more true, if men did not remain in the grasp of death; nor, secondly, does repentance call men back from what is their nature—it merely stays them from acts of sin. [§ 4] Now, if there were merely a misdemeanour in question, and not a consequent corruption, repentance were well enough. But if, when transgression had once gained a start, men became involved in that corruption which was their nature, and were deprived of the grace which they had, being in the Image of God, what further step was needed? or what was required for such grace and such recall, but the Word of God, which had also at the beginning made everything out of nought? [§ 5.] For His it was once more both to bring the corruptible to incorruption, and to maintain intact the just claims of the Father upon all For being Word of the Father and above all, He alone of natural fitness was both able to recreate everything, and worthy to suffer on behalf of all and to be ambassador for all with the Father.—A. Robertson, *St. Athanasius on the Incarnation*, 5, 11–12.

No. 43.—Arianism Idolatrous

From Athanasius, *Ad episcopos Ægypti* [356], § 13 (*Op.* i. 221; *P.G.* xxv. 568 B).

[§ 13] . . . Infidelity is coming in through these men, or rather a Judaism beside the Scriptures, which has close upon it Gentile superstition; so that he who holds these

opinions can no longer be called a Christian, for they are all contrary to the Scriptures.

John, for instance, saith, "In the beginning was the Word;" but these men say, "He was not before he was begotten." And again he has written, "And we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ; this is the true God, and eternal life;" but these men, as if in contradiction to this, allege that Christ is not the true God, but that He is only called God, as are other creatures, in regard of His participation in the Divine nature. And the Apostle blames the Gentiles, because they worship creatures, saying, "They served the creature more than" God "the Creator." But if these men say that the Lord is a creature, and worship Him as a creature, how do they differ from the Gentiles? If they hold this opinion, is not this passage also against them; and does not the blessed Paul write as blaming them? The Lord also says, "I and my Father are one"; and "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father"; and the Apostle, who was sent by Him to preach, writes, "Who being the brightness of His glory, and the express Image of His Person." But these men dare to separate them, and to say that he is alien from the substance and eternity of the Father; and impiously to represent Him as changeable, not perceiving that, by speaking thus, they make Him to be not one with the Father, but one with created things. Who does not see that the brightness cannot be separated from the light, but that it is by nature proper to it and co-existent with it, and is not produced after it?—*L.F.* xiii. 141–2.

No. 44.—Flight under Persecution and the Attack on the Church of Theonas, Feb. 8, 356

From Athanasius, *Apol. de fuga sua* [357], §§ 22–4 (*Op.* i. 264–5; *P.G.* xxv. 672–6).

[§ 22] Thus the saints, as I said before, were abundantly preserved in their flight by the providence of God, as physicians for the sake of them that had need. And to all men generally, even to us is this law given, that we should flee when we are persecuted, and hide ourselves when we are sought after, and not rashly tempt the Lord, but should wait, as I said above, until the appointed time of death

arrive, or the Judge determine something concerning us, according as it shall seem to Him to be good: that we should be ready that, when the time calls for us, or when we are taken, we may contend for the truth even unto death. This rule the blessed martyrs observed in their several persecutions. When persecuted, they fled; while concealing themselves, they showed fortitude; and when discovered, they submitted themselves to martyrdom. . . .

[§ 23] Seeing, therefore, that such are the commands of our Saviour, and that such is the conduct of the saints, let these persons, to whom one cannot give a name suitable to their character—let them, I say, tell us from whom they learnt to persecute? They cannot say, From the saints. No, but from the devil (that is the only answer which is left them)—from him who says, "I will pursue, I will overtake." Our Lord commanded to flee, and the saints fled; but persecution is a device of the devil, and one which he desires to exercise against all. . . .

[§ 24] . . . The manner of my withdrawal. . . . It was now night, and some of the people were keeping a vigil preparatory to a communion on the morrow, when the General Syrianus suddenly came upon us with more than five thousand soldiers, having arms and drawn swords, bows, spears and clubs, as I have related above. With these he surrounded the church, stationing his soldiers near at hand, in order that no one might be able to leave the church and pass by them. Now I considered that it would be unfair in me to desert the people during such a disturbance, and not to endanger myself in their behalf; therefore I sat down upon my throne, and desired the deacon to read the Psalm, and the people to answer, "For His mercy endureth for ever," and then all to withdraw and depart home. But the General having now made a forcible entry, and the soldiers having surrounded the chancel for the purpose of apprehending me, the clergy and those of the laity, who were still there, cried out, and demanded that I should withdraw. But I refused, declaring that I would not do so, until they had retired one and all. Accordingly I stood up and having bidden prayer, I then made my request of them, that all should depart before me, saying that it was better that my safety should be endangered, than that any of them

should receive hurt. So when the greater part had gone forth, and the rest were following, the monks who were there with me and certain of the clergy came up and dragged me away. And thus (truth is my witness), while some of the soldiers stood about the chancel, and others were going round the church, I passed through, under the Lord's guidance, and with His protection withdrew without observation.—*L.F.*, xiii. 204–6.

No. 45.—Objections to the Homoousion

From Athanasius, *De Synodis* [359], §§ 41, 43, 45 (*Op.* ii. 603–7 ; *P.G.* xxvi. 763–76).

[§ 41] Those who deny the Council [*sc.* of Nicæa] altogether, are sufficiently exposed by these brief remarks; those, however, who accept everything else that was defined at Nicæa, and doubt only about the Co-essential, must not be treated as enemies ; nor do we here attack them as Ariomaniacs, nor as opponents of the Fathers, but we discuss the matter with them as brothers with brothers, who mean what we mean and dispute only about the word. For, confessing that the Son is from the essence of the Father, and not from other subsistence, and that He is not a creature nor work, but His genuine and natural offspring, and that He is eternally with the Father as being His Word and Wisdom, they are not far from accepting even the phrase Co-essential. Now such is Basil, who wrote from Ancyra concerning the faith. For only to say "like according to essence" is very far from signifying "of the essence," by which, rather, as they say themselves, the genuineness of the Son to the Father is signified. Thus tin is only like to silver, a wolf to a dog, and gilt brass to the true metal; but tin is not from silver, nor could a wolf be accounted the offspring of a dog. But since they say that He is "of the essence" and "like in essence," what do they signify by these but "Co-essential"? For while to say only "like in essence" does not necessarily convey "of the essence"; on the contrary, to say "Co-essential" is to signify the meaning of both terms, "like in essence" and "of the essence." . . .

[§ 43] This is sufficient to show that the meaning of the beloved ones [*sc.* the Semi-arians] is not foreign nor far

from the "Co-essential." But since, as they allege[1] (for I have not the Epistle in question), the bishops who condemned the Samosatene [*sc.* at the Council of Antioch, 269] have said in writing that the Son is not co-essential with the Father, and so it comes to pass that they, for caution and honour towards those who have so said, thus feel about that expression, it will be to the purpose cautiously to argue with them on this point also. . . .

[§ 45] . . . If the Fathers of the two Councils [*sc.* Antioch and Nicæa] made different mention of the "Co-essential," we ought not in any respect to differ from them, but to investigate their meaning, and this will fully show us the argument of both the Councils. For they who deposed the Samosatene, took "Co-essential" in a bodily sense, because Paul had attempted sophistry and said, "Unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that He is Co-essential with the Father; and if so, of necessity there are three essences, one the previous essence and the other two from it"; and therefore, guarding against this, they said, with good reason, that Christ was not Co-essential. But the bishops who anathematized the Arian heresy, understanding Paul's craft, and reflecting that the word "Co-essential" has not this meaning when used of things immaterial, and especially of God, and acknowledging that the Word was not a creature, but an offspring from the essence, and that the Father's essence was the origin and root and fountain of the Son, and that He was of very truth His Father's likeness, and not of different nature, as we are, and separate from the Father, but that, as being from Him, He exists as Son indivisible, as radiance is with respect to light . . . on these grounds reasonably asserted on their part, that the Son was "Co-essential."—*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 472–4.

No. 46.—The Council of Milan, 355

From Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum* [358], §§ 33–4 (*Op.* i. 287; *P.G.* xxv. 732).

[§ 33] . . . But while they [*sc.* the Arianizers] thought that they were carrying on their designs against many by his

[1] *Synodal letter of Council of Ancyra*, 358; *Epiph. Hær.*, lxxiii. § 12.

[*sc.* Constantius'] means, they knew not that they were making many to be Confessors; of whom are those who have lately made so glorious a confession, religious men and excellent bishops, Paulinus, Bishop of Treves, the metropolis of Gaul; Lucifer, Bishop of the metropolis of Sardinia; Eusebius of Vercelli in Italy, and Dionysius of Milan, which is the metropolis of Italy. These the Emperor summoned before him, and commanded them to subscribe against Athanasius, and to hold communion with the heretics; and, when they were astonished at this novel procedure, and said that there was no ecclesiastical canon to this effect, he immediately said: "Whatever I will, be that esteemed a canon; the Bishops of Syria let me thus speak. Either then obey, or go into banishment."

[§ 34] When the bishops heard this, they were utterly amazed, and stretching forth their hands to God, they used great boldness of speech against him, teaching him that the kingdom was not his, but God's who had given it to him, whom also they bid him fear, lest he should suddenly take it away from him. And they threatened him with the day of judgment, and warned him against infringing ecclesiastical order, and mingling Roman sovereignty with the constitution of the Church, nor to introduce the Arian heresy into the Church of God. But he would not listen to them, nor permitted them to speak further, but threatened them so much the more and drew his sword against them.—*L.F.* xiii. 246.

No. 47.—The Lapse of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, 352–†66.

From Athanasius, *Hist. Ar.* [358], § 41 (*Op.* i. 291; *P.G.* xxv. 741).

[§ 41] . . . Thus they endeavoured at the first to corrupt the Church of the Romans, wishing to introduce impiety into it as well as others. But Liberius, after he had been in banishment two years, gave way; and from fear of threatened death, was induced to subscribe. Yet even this only shows their violent conduct, and the hatred of Liberius against the heresy, and his support of Athanasius, so long as he was suffered to exercise a free choice.—*L.F.* xiii. 254.

No. 48.—Arian Disputatiousness

From Athanasius, *Orat. c. Ar.* [356–60], i. § 22 (*Op.* ii. 336 *sq.*; *P.G.* xxvi. 57 B, C).

[§ 22] . . . Ranking Him among these [*sc.* things originated], according to the teaching of Eusebius, and accounting Him such as the things which come into being through Him, Arius and his fellows revolted from the truth, and used, when they commenced this heresy, to go about with dishonest phrases which they had got together; nay, up to this time some of them, when they fell in with boys in the market-place, question them, not out of Divine Scripture, but thus, as if bursting with "the abundance of their heart." "He who is, did He make him who was not, from that which was [not], or him who was? Therefore did He make the Son whereas He was, or whereas He was not?" And again, "Is the Unoriginate one or two?" and, "Has He free-will, and yet does not alter at His own choice, as being of an alterable nature? for He is not as a stone to remain by Himself unmovable." Next they turn to silly women, and address them in turn in this womanish language: "Hadst thou a son before bearing? now, as thou hadst not, so neither was the Son of God before His generation." In such language do the disgraceful men sport and revel, and liken God to men, pretending to be Christians, but changing God's glory "unto an image made like to corruptible man."—*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 319 *sq.*

No. 49.—The Beginnings of Heresy about the Holy Spirit

From Athanasius, *Ep. ad Serapionem* [357], i. § 1 (*Op.* ii. 517 *sq.*: *P.G.* xxvi. 529 *sq.*).

[§ 1] I received your very kind letter in the desert. A bitter persecution was pressing upon me; and there were plenty of people anxious to compass my death. But "the God of mercies and Father of all consolation" cheered me by your letter. I thought of your kindness and of that of all my firm friends; and I could not help feeling as if I saw them all present with me. So, on receiving your letter, I was filled with joy. But I had scarcely read it, when I

began to feel grief as keen, on account of those who once and for all had made up their minds to fight against the truth. My very dear friend whom I so truly long to see again, you yourself wrote to me, in much grief, and told me that some of the followers of the Arians deserted them, on account of the ill words they used against the Son of God, but themselves held similar opinions about the Holy Spirit, and said that He was not only a creature but one of the "ministering spirits," differing in nothing from the angels but in degree. Now this is ostensibly a quarrel with Arians, but really an attack on true religion. For as the one party by denying the Son deny also the Father, so the other, by speaking in a manner derogatory to the Holy Spirit, necessarily use language derogatory to the Son. Each party has taken a side in the war against the truth; the one is guilty of perverse opinions about the Son, the other against the Spirit; and both are equally guilty of evil-speaking against the Holy Trinity. As I perceived this and thought much over it, I was grieved to think that the devil had again found opportunity of making mad sport among his dupes. At first, I thought that the right course was to say nothing, at a time like this. But then your holiness urged it upon me; and, by way of meeting their heterodoxy and their satanical audacity, I am writing a short letter, though under difficulties, in order that you may take it for a start; and, with the wisdom characteristic of you, may add to it and so accomplish a complete refutation.—K.

No. 50.—The Negative Character of our Knowledge of God

From Athanasius, *Ep. ad monachos* [358–60], § 2 (*Op.* i. 272; *P.G.* xxv. 693 A)

[§ 2] Considering, therefore, how it is written in the Book of Ecclesiastes, "I said, I will be wise, but it was far from me; that which is far off, and exceeding deep, who shall find it out?" and what is said in the Psalms, "The knowledge of Thee is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it"; and that Solomon says, "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing"; I frequently designed to stop and to cease writing; believe me, I did. But lest I should

be found to disappoint you, or by my silence to lead into impiety those who have made enquiry of you, and are given to disputation, I constrained myself to write briefly, what I have now sent to your piety. For although a perfect apprehension of the truth is at present far removed from us by reason of the infirmity of the flesh, yet it is possible, as the preacher himself has said, to perceive the madness of the impious; and, having found it, to say that it is "more bitter than death." Wherefore for this reason, as perceiving this and able to find it out, I have written, knowing that to the faithful the detection of impiety is a sufficient information wherein piety consists. For although it be impossible to comprehend what God is, yet it is possible to say what He is not. And we know that He is not as man; and that it is not lawful to conceive of any created nature as existing in Him. So also respecting the Son of God, although we are by nature very far from being able to apprehend Him, yet it is possible and easy to condemn the assertions of heretics concerning Him, and to say that the Son of God is not such; nor is it lawful even to conceive in our minds such things as they speak, concerning His divinity; much less to utter them with the lips.—*L.F.* xiii. 216 *sq.*

No. 51.—The Council of Alexandria, 362

From Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenos* [362], §§ 5–7 (*Op.* ii. 616–8; *P.G.* xxvi. 799–806).

[§ 5] And, for instance, as for the document which some talk of as if it had been compiled in the Council of Sardica, concerning faith, do not allow it to be so much as read or brought forward; for the Synod defined nothing of the sort. For some indeed requested that some definite formula should be drawn up, as if the Nicene Creed were defective; and, indeed, rashly attempted this. But the holy council assembled at Sardica was indignant, and decreed that no new formulary about the faith should be drawn up, but the faith confessed at Nicæa by the Fathers should be deemed sufficient, because nothing was lacking to it, but, on the contrary, it was full of true religion; and that no second creed should be put forth, lest that which was written at Nicæa should be regarded as incomplete,

and an occasion should be given to those who desired to be often drawing up formularies and definitions about faith. Wherefore, if any one brings forward this, or a different formulary, put a stop to such persons' conduct, and advise them rather to study peace, for we discern nothing in them save contentiousness. For as regards the persons whom some began to censure for affirming "Three Hypostases," because the phrase was not found in Scripture and was consequently open to suspicion, we requested them not to seek for anything more than the Nicene confession; but nevertheless, on account of this contentiousness, we enquired of them whether, like the Arian fanatics, they meant to speak of "Hypostases" alien and foreign to each other, and differing from each other in essence, and each by itself an independent "Hypostasis," as are those other beings, the creatures and the offspring of men; or like different essences, such as gold, silver or brass; or whether, in speaking of "Three Hypostases," they had the same notion as other heretics had in speaking of three Principles or three Gods. They positively declared that they had neither said this, nor had ever thought it. Thereupon we asked them, "Why then do you say 'Three Hypostases'? or why do you use such phrases at all?" They replied, "Because we believe in the Holy Trinity: we know of a Trinity not in name only, but truly existing and subsisting, a Father truly existing and subsisting, and a Son truly existing and subsisting, and a Holy Spirit subsisting and existing; we have neither said 'Three Gods' nor 'Three Principles,' nor could we at all endure those who say or think thus; but we know a Holy Trinity, and one Godhead and one Principle, and a Son co-essential with the Father, as the Fathers said, and the Holy Spirit, not a creature nor foreign to, but belonging to, and undivided from, the essence of the Son and of the Father."

[§ 6] We accepted their interpretation of their language, and their defence of it; and proceeded to enquire of those whom they had blamed for saying, "One Hypostasis," whether they said so in the sense of Sabellius, by way of doing away with the Son and the Holy Spirit, or as if the Son were without true being, and the Holy Spirit without subsistence. And they also positively declared that they

did not say so. "But," they said, we speak of hypostasis and essence to mean the same thing; and we hold "One Hypostasis," because the Son is from the Father's essence, and because of the sameness of the nature; for we believe the Godhead to be one, and its nature to be one, and not that the Father's is one, and that the Son's and the Holy Spirit's are foreign to Him. Thereupon, too, of course, those who had been blamed for saying "Three Hypostases" agreed with the former, and those also who said "One Essence" admitted the language of the others, as they explained it. And both parties anathematized Arius as one who fought against Christ, and Sabellius and Paul of Samosata as impious men, and Valentinus and Basilides as alien from the truth, and Manes as an inventor of evil; and all, by God's grace, after the above-mentioned explanations, agreed with us that the faith confessed at Nicæa by the Fathers was better and more accurate than such phrases, and that for the future they would rather be content with and use its terms.

[§ 7] But further, in regard to the economy of our Saviour in the flesh, since some seemed to be contentious with each other on that point also, we examined both parties, and what one party professed the other agreed to, that the Word of the Lord did not sojourn in a holy man at the consummation of the ages, just as He *came to the prophets*, but that the Word Himself became flesh, and, *existing in the form of God*, took the *form of a servant*, and was born Man, of Mary, according to the flesh, for our sakes; and that thus the human race, being through Him perfectly and entirely delivered from sin, and endued with life from the dead, was introduced into the kingdom of heaven. For they also acknowledged this, that the Saviour had not a body without a soul, nor without perception, nor without a mind; for neither was it possible that, when the Lord became Man for us, His body should be without a mind; nor was it body only, but soul also that attained salvation in the Word Himself, and being truly Son of God, He, the same, became also *firstborn among many brethren*. Therefore, the Son of God who *was before Abraham* was not one, and He who was after Abraham another; nor was He who raised up Lazarus one, and He who enquired about

him another; but it was the same who said humanly, *Where is Lazarus laid?* and who divinely raised him up. It was the same who spat corporeally as Man, but Divinely, as Son of God, opened the eyes of the man born blind; who suffered in flesh, as Peter said, but Divinely opened the tombs and raised up the dead. On account of which texts they understood all the Gospel in this sense, and positively declared that they were of the same mind regarding the Incarnation of the Word, and His becoming Man.—*L.F.* xlvi. 7–12.

No. 52.—The Nicene Faith, as explained to Jovian, 364

From Athanasius, *Ep. ad Jovianum*, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 624; *P.G.* xxvi. 817–20).

[§ 4] In this faith, O Augustus, it is necessary that all should abide, since it is divine and apostolic, and that no one should disturb it by subtleties and logomachies, as the Arian fanatics have done, who say that the Son of God is from nothing, and that once He was not, and that He is created, and made, and changeable. For on account of these assertions, as we said before, the Council of Nicæa anathematized this heresy, and confessed the true faith. For they have not called the Son simply like to the Father, lest He should be believed to be simply like to God and not Very God from God. But they wrote the word "Co essential," which was characteristic of a genuine and very Son of the very and natural Father. And again they did not describe the Holy Spirit as foreign to the Father and the Son; but rather glorified Him with the Father and the Son in the one faith of the Holy Trinity, because there is in the Holy Trinity at the same time one Godhead.—*L.F.* xlvi. 21 *sq.*

No. 53.—The Canonical Scriptures, 367

From Athanasius, Festal *Ep.* xxxix. §§ 4–7 (*Op.* ix.; *P.G.* xxvi. 436 *sq.*).

[§ 4] There are then of the O.T. twenty-two books in number; for, as I have heard, it is handed down that this

is the number of the letters among the Hebrews; their respective order and names being as follows. The first is Genesis, then Exodus, next Leviticus, after that Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. Following these, there is Joshua, the son of Nun, then Judges, then Ruth. And again, after these, four books of Kings, the first and second being reckoned as one book, and so likewise the third and fourth as one book. And again the first and second of the Chronicles are reckoned as one book. Again, Ezra, the first and second[1] are reckoned as one book. After these there is the Book of Psalms, then the Proverbs, next Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Job follows, then the Prophets, the twelve being reckoned as one book. Then Isaiah, one book, then Jeremiah with Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle,[2] one book; afterwards, Ezekiel and Daniel, each one book. Thus far constitutes the Old Testament.

[§ 5] Again, it is not tedious to speak of the books of the New Testament. These are the four Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Afterwards the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles (called Catholic), seven, viz. of James, one; of Peter, two; of John, three; after these, one of Jude. In addition there are fourteen Epistles of Paul written in this order. The first to the Romans; then two to the Corinthians; after these, to the Galatians; next, to the Ephesians; then to the Philippians; then to the Colossians; after these, two to the Thessalonians, and that to the Hebrews; and again, two to Timothy; one to Titus; and lastly, that to Philemon. And besides, the Revelation of John.

[§ 6] These are the fountains of salvation, that they who thirst may be satisfied with the living words they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to these, neither let him take aught from these. For concerning these, the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, and said, "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures";[3] and He reproved the Jews saying, "Search the Scriptures, for these are they that testify of Me."[4]

[1] *i.e.* Ezra and Nehemiah.
[2] *i.e.* Baruch vi.
[3] Matt. xxii. 29.
[4] John v. 39.

[§ 7] But for greater exactness, I add this also writing of necessity; that there are other books besides these, not included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who newly join us, and who wish for instruction in the word of godliness. The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther and Judith and Tobit, and that which is called the Teaching of the Apostles and the Shepherd. But the former, my brethren, are included in the Canon, the latter being [merely] read; nor is there, in any place, a mention of apocryphal writings. But they are an invention of heretics, who write them when they choose, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, that so, using them as ancient writings, they may find occasion to lead astray the simple.—*N. & P.-N.F.* iv. 551 *sq.*

No. 54.—A Debate at the Council of Nicæa, 325

From Athanasius, *Ep. ad Afros* [369], § 5 (*Op.* ii. 715; *P.G.* xxvi. 1037–40).

[§ 5] . . . When the assembled bishops were resolved to put down the impious phrases invented by the Arians, that the Son was from things which did not exist, and that the Son was a creature and a thing made, and that there was [a period] when he was not, and that He was of a changeable nature, and to write down the acknowledged sayings of Scripture, that the Word is from God, by nature Only-begotten, the only Power and Wisdom of the Father, *true God*, as John saith,[1] and, as Paul wrote, *effulgence of the Father's glory and impress of His hypostasis:*[2] the Eusebians, drawn away by their own vain opinions, began to say to each other, "Let us agree to this, for we also are from God: for *there is one God from Whom are all things*,[3] and, *The old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new, and all things are from God.*"[4] They also took account of that passage in "The Shepherd": "First of all things, believe that the God who created and organized all things, and brought them out of non-existence into existence, is one." But the bishops, having observed their

[1] 1 John v. 20.
[2] Heb. i. 3.
[3] 1 Cor. viii. 6.
[4] 2 Cor. v. 17, 18.

craftiness and the artifice of impiety, gave a clearer explanation of the phrase "from God," and wrote that the Son was "from the essence of God"; that the creatures might be said to be "from God," because they are not from themselves without a cause, but have a beginning of their coming into existence, but the Son alone might be regarded as proper to the Father's essence, for this properly belongs to an only-begotten and veritable son in regard to a father. And this was the occasion of the adoption of the phrase "from the essence." Again, when the bishops asked those who seemed to be a small number whether they would say that the Son was not a creature, but the only Power and Wisdom of the Father, and in all points the eternal and unvarying image of the Father, and true God, they caught the Eusebians making signals to each other,[1] to this effect: "These expressions belong to us also, for we are called *God's image and glory*;[2] and of us it is said, *For we, the living, alway*;[3] and there are many 'powers,' and *all the power of the Lord went forth from the land of Egypt*,[4] and the caterpillar and the locust are called *a great power*,[5] and, *The Lord of powers is with us, the God of Jacob is our helper*.[6] And we indeed are in the position of belonging properly to God, not in a commonplace way, but because He has called us brethren. And if also they even call the Son true 'God,' that does not trouble us; for since He has been made so He is true (God)."[7]

[§ 6] Such were the unsound thoughts of the Arians. But here also the bishops, perceiving their craftiness, collected from the Scriptures the phrase "effulgence," and the "fountain" and "stream," and "impress" in relation to "hypostasis," and the text, *In Thy light shall we see light*,[8] and *I and the Father are one*.[9] And then they inserted in their formulary a clearer and compendious phrase that the Son was "co-essential with the Father"; for all the expressions above quoted have this meaning.—W. Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Athanasius; L.F.* xlvi. 31–3.

[1] Lit. "nodding"; so "whispering and winking" in the parallel account, *De decretis*, § 20.
[2] Cor. xi. 7. [3] 2 Cor. iv. 11. [4] Exod. xii. 41.
[5] Joel ii. 25. [6] Ps. xlvi. 7.
[7] Note the affinity of Arianism to polytheism.
[8] Ps. xxxvi. 9. [9] John x. 30.

No. 55.—The Elements of an Episcopal Appointment, 373

From Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, 373–†80; *ap.* Theodoret, *H.E.* IV. xxii. § 9.

[§ 9] . . . Our successor [*sc.* the Arian intruder, Lucius], who had purchased the episcopal office with gold, as though it had been a secular dignity, was a wolf in disposition, and acted accordingly. He had not been elected by a synod of bishops, by the votes of the clergy, or by the request of the people, according to the regulations of the Church.—*The Greek Eccl. Hist.* v. 249 *sq.* (Bagster, 1844).

No. 56.—The Personal Appearance of Arius

From Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, 367–†403; *Panarion: Haer.* lxix. § 3 (*Op.* ii. 729; *P.L.* xlii. 205).

[§ 3] From elation of mind the old man swerved from the mark. He was in stature very tall, downcast in visage, with manners like a wily serpent, captivating to every guileless heart by that same crafty bearing. Always dressed in short cloak and scanty tunic, he was pleasant of address, ever persuading souls and cajoling them. So what was his first work but to withdraw from the Church in one body as many as seven hundred women who professed virginity. It is said also that seven presbyters and twelve deacons were detached by him. Indeed the mischief that he made soon spread to bishops: for he won over to his side Secundus, Bishop of Ptolemais, with others.—K.

No. 57.—Condemnation of Apollinarianism and Macedonianism at Rome. 377

From the Synodal Letter of a Roman Council, ? 376–7, under Pope Damasus, 366–†84 = Damasus, *Ep.* II. *Fragm.* ii. (*P.L.* xiii. 352 *sq.*).

Illud sane miramur.—This we are certainly surprised to find, that there are said to be some among our own people who, in spite of their having a pious understanding of the Trinity, nevertheless, in respect of the mystery of our

salvation, know neither the power [of God] nor the Scriptures, and so fail to be of a right mind. They venture to say that our God and Saviour Jesus Christ took from the Virgin Mary human nature incomplete, *i. e.* without mind. Alas, how nearly they approach the Arians with a mind like that! The latter speak of an incomplete divinity in the Son of God; the former falsely affirm an incomplete humanity in the Son of Man. Now if human nature were taken incomplete, then the gift of God is incomplete, and our salvation is incomplete, because human nature has not been saved in its entirety. And what then will become of that saying of the Lord, "The Son of Man came to save that which had been lost in its entirety" (Matt. xviii. 11), *i. e.* in soul and in body, in mind and in the whole substance of its nature? If, therefore, human nature had been lost in its entirety, it was necessary that that which had been lost should be saved. But if it was saved without mind, then the fact that that which had been lost was not saved in its entirety will be found contrary to the faith of the Gospel; since, in another place, the Saviour Himself says: "Are ye angry at Me because I have made a man every whit whole?" (John vii. 23). Further, the essence of the first sin itself and of the entire perdition lies in man's mind; for if, at the first, man's mind to choose good and evil had not perished, he would not have died. How then are we to suppose that, at the last, that needed no salvation which is acknowledged to have been chief in sinning? We, who know that we have been saved whole and entire according to the profession of the Catholic Church, profess that complete God took complete man. Wherefore take heed that, by their understanding of sound doctrine, the very minds of those be saved who as yet do not believe that the mind has been saved.

Non nobis quidquam.—It is not our way to seek for an opportunity whereby our efforts may bring you some little refreshment; although, most blessed, you would be greatly relieved if you would acknowledge the soundness of our faith and with one mind make boast of your agreement; having, as is meet, enough and more than enough confidence in our solicitude for [our fellow-] members [in Christ]. As men who hold fast through everything to the inviolable

faith of the Council of Nicæa, we do not separate the Holy Spirit, but together with the Father and the Son we offer Him a joint worship as complete in everything, in power, honour, majesty and Godhead; and, moreover, we believe that God the Word in His fullness, not put forth but born, and not immanent in the Father so as to have no real existence, but subsisting from eternity to eternity, took and saved human nature complete, *i. e.* entire.—K.

No. 58.—A Petition to Gratian and Valentinian II.

From the letter of a Synod at Rome [? 378–82] under Pope Damasus (*P.L.* xiii. 575 *s.q.*, 581)—*Et hoc Gloriæ vestræ.*

[§ 1] This also, most Clement Sovereign, is a signal proof of your Glory and Piety that, when we were assembled in considerable numbers from almost all the different parts of Italy, and were considering what request it would be desirable to make to you on behalf of the churches, we were not able to hit upon anything better than that which you, in your spontaneous forethought, have already bestowed. We see that neither ought there to be any shame in asking, nor ought there to be any need for us to obtain by petition, favours which you have already granted. For, as regards the equity of our petition, we succeeded long ago in obtaining the things which we are requesting; but, as regards the need of renewing our prayer, we have so entirely failed in obtaining the effect of the favours granted, that we desire to have them granted afresh.

[§ 9] Inasmuch then as, at the bar of your Serenity, the innocence of our brother Damasus aforesaid has been established and his uprightness declared, while Isaac in his turn, since he could not prove his charges, has had sentence passed upon him in accordance with his deserts: now, therefore, lest in repeated cases we be further burdensome unto you, we request of your Clemency that your Piety would vouchsafe to ordain that if any [bishop] shall have been condemned by the judgment whether of Damasus or of ourselves, being Catholics, and shall unjustly wish to retain possession of his church, and, on being summoned by a synod of bishops shall contumaciously refuse to attend,

that he be brought to Rome, whether by those illustrious men, the Prætorian Prefects of your Italy or by the Vicar [of the City]: or, if a question of the kind arise in more distant regions, that its examination be committed by the local authorities to the Metropolitan; provided that, if the Metropolitan himself be the offender, he should be compelled to go at once either to Rome or to such judges as the Bishop of Rome may appoint, so that those who have been deposed be kept away from the confines of the city where they exercised their episcopal office, lest they should again shamelessly seize upon the authority rightly taken away from them. If there should be suspicion of any favour or misdoing on the part of the Metropolitan or any other bishop, then let the condemned bishop have the right to appeal either to the Bishop of Rome or to a synod of at any rate fifteen neighbouring bishops.[1]—K. and F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*,[3] 145 *sq.*

No. 59.—Basil's Retreat on the Iris

From Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, 370 †9, *Ep.* xiv. § 2 (*Op.* iv. 93 *sq.*; *P.G.* xxxii. 270 *sq.*).

[§ 2] There is a lofty mountain covered with thick woods, watered towards the north with cool and transparent streams. A plain lies beneath, enriched by the waters which are ever draining off from it; and skirted by a spontaneous profusion of trees almost thick enough to be a fence; so as even to surpass Calypso's Island, which Homer seems to have considered the most beautiful spot on earth. Indeed, it is like an island, enclosed as it is on all sides; for deep hollows cut off two sides of it; the river, which has lately fallen down a precipice, runs all along the front, and is impassable as a wall; while the mountain extending itself behind, and meeting the hollows in a crescent, stops up the path at its roots. There is but one pass, and I am master of it. Behind my abode there is another gorge, rising into a ledge up above, so as to command the extent of the plains and the stream which bounds it, which is not less beautiful, to my taste, than the Strymon as seen from Amphipolis. For while the latter flows leisurely and swells into a lake almost,

[1] For Gratian's reply see *Ordinariorum sententiæ*, No. 65.

and is too still to be a river, the former is the most rapid stream I know, and somewhat turbid too, from the rocks just above; from which, shooting down and eddying in a deep pool, it forms a most pleasant scene for myself or any one else; and is an inexhaustible resource to the country-people in the countless fish which its depths contain. What need to tell of the exhalations from the earth, or the breezes from the river? Another might admire the multitude of flowers, and singing birds. But leisure I have none for such thoughts. However, the chief praise of the place is, that being happily disposed for produce of every kind, it nurtures what, to me, is the sweetest produce of all, quietness; indeed, it is not only rid of the bustle of the city, but it is even unfrequented by travellers, except a chance hunter. It abounds indeed in game, as well as other things; but not, I am glad to say, in bears or wolves, such as you have, but in deer and wild goats, and hares and the like. Does it not strike you what a foolish mistake I was near making when I was eager to change this spot for your Tiberina, the very pit of the whole earth?

Pardon me then, if I am now set upon it; for not Alcmæon himself, I suppose, could endure to wander further when he had found the Echinades.—J. H. Newman, *The Church of the Fathers*,[2] 126 *sq.*

No. 60.—Basil on the Devotional Exercises of his Community, 375

From Basil, *Ep.* ccvii. § 3 (*Op.* iv. 311; *P.G.* xxxii. 764).

[§ 3] Now as to the charge relating to the singing of psalms, whereby my calumniators specially scare the simple folk, my reply is this. The customs which now obtain are agreeable to those of all the churches of God. Among us the people go at night to the house of prayer and, in distress, affliction and continual tears, making confession to God, at last rise from their prayers and begin to sing psalms. And now, divided into two parts, they sing antiphonally with one another, thus at once confirming their study of the Gospels, and at the same time producing for themselves a heedful temper and a heart free from distraction. Afterwards they again commit the prelude of the strain to one,

and the rest take it up; and so, after passing the night in various psalmody, praying at intervals as the day begins to dawn, all together, as with one voice and one heart, raise the psalm of confession to the Lord, each forming for himself his own expressions of penitence. If it is for these reasons that you [*sc.* the clergy of Neocæsarea] renounce me, you will renounce the Egyptians; you will renounce both Libyans, Thebans, Palestinians, Arabians, Phœnicians, Syrians, the dwellers by the Euphrates; in a word, all those among whom vigils, prayers and common psalmody have been held in honour.—*N. & P.-N.F.* viii. 247.

No. 61.—Basil on The Doctrine of the Trinity, 375

From Basil, *Ep.* ccx. § 5 (*Op.* iv. 317; *P.G.* xxxii. 776 C).

[§ 5] . . . It is indispensable to have clear understanding that, as he who fails to confess the community of the essence or substance falls into polytheism, so he who refuses to grant the distinction of the hypostases is carried away into Judaism. For we must keep our mind stayed, so to say, on certain underlying subject matter, and, by forming a clear impression of its distinguishing lines, so arrive at the end desired. For suppose we do not bethink us of the Fatherhood, nor bear in mind Him of whom this distinctive quality is marked off, how can we take in the idea of God the Father? For merely to enumerate the differences of Persons (*προσώπων*) is insufficient; we must confess each Person (*πρόσωπον*) to have a natural existence in real hypostasis. Now Sabellius did not even deprecate the formation of the persons without hypostasis, saying as he did that the same God, being one in matter (*τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ*) was metamorphosed as the need of the moment required, and spoken of now as Father, now as Son, and now as Holy Ghost. The inventors of this unnamed heresy are renewing the old long-extinguished error; those, I mean, who are repudiating the hypostases, and denying the name of the Son of God. They must give over uttering iniquity against God, or they will have to wail with them that deny the Christ.—*N. & P.-N.F.* viii. 251.

No. 62.—Basil on the Beginnings of his Monastic Life, 375

From Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, 370–†9; *Ep.* ccxxiii. § 2 (*Op.* iv. 337; *P.G.* xxxii 823 *sq.*).

[§ 2] Much time had I spent in vanity, and had wasted nearly all my youth in the vain labour which I underwent in acquiring the wisdom made foolish by God. Then once upon a time, like a man roused from a deep sleep, I turned my eyes to the marvellous light of the truth of the Gospel, and I perceived the uselessness of "the princes of this world that come to naught." I wept many tears over my miserable life, and I prayed that guidance might be vouchsafed to me to admit me to the doctrines of true religion. First of all, I was minded to make some mending of my ways, long perverted as they were by my intimacy with wicked men. Then I read the Gospel and I saw there that a great means of reaching perfection was the selling of one's goods, the sharing of them with the poor, the giving up of all care for this life, and the refusal to allow the soul to be turned by any sympathy to the things of earth. And I prayed that I might find some one of the brethren who had chosen this way of life, that with him I might cross life's short and troubled strait. And many did I find in Alexandria, and many in the rest of Egypt, and others in Palestine, and in Cœle-Syria, and in Mesopotamia. I admired their continence in living, and their endurance in toil; I was amazed at their persistency in prayer, and at their triumphing over sleep; subdued by no natural necessity, ever keeping their soul's purpose high and free, in hunger, in thirst, in cold, in nakedness, they never yielded to the body; they were never willing to waste attention on it; always, as though living in a flesh that was not theirs, they showed in very deed what it is to sojourn for a while in this life, and what to have one's citizenship and home in heaven. All this moved my admiration. I called these men's lives blessed, in that they did indeed show that "they bear about in their body the dying of Jesus." And I prayed that I too, as far as in me lay, might imitate them.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vii. 263.

No. 63.—Our Knowledge of God Imperfect, but Real

From Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, 370–†9; *Ep.* ccxxxiv. [376] § 1 (*Op.* iv. 357; *P.G.* xxxii. 868 C).

[§ 1] Do you worship what you know, or what you know not? If I answer, I worship what I know, they [*sc.* the Eunomians] immediately reply, What is the essence of the object of worship? Then, if I confess that I am ignorant of the essence, they turn on me again and say, So you worship you know not what. I answer that the word *to know* has many meanings. We say that we know the greatness of God, His power, His wisdom, His goodness, His providence over us, and the justness of His judgment; but not His very essence. The question is therefore only put for the sake of dispute. For he who denies that he knows the essence does not confess himself to be ignorant of God, because our idea of God is gathered from all the attributes which I have enumerated. But God, he says, is simple; and whatever attribute of Him you have reckoned as knowable is of His essence. But the absurdities involved in this sophism are innumerable. When all these high attributes have been enumerated, are they all names of one essence? And is there the same mutual force in His awfulness and His loving-kindness, His justice and His creative power, His providence and His foreknowledge, and His bestowal of rewards and punishments, His majesty and His providence? In mentioning any one of these, do we declare His essence? If they say Yes, let them not ask if we know the essence of God; but let them enquire of us whether we know God to be awful, or just, or merciful. These we confess that we know. If they say that essence is something distinct, let them not put us in the wrong on the score of simplicity. For they confess themselves that there is a distinction between the essence and each one of the attributes enumerated. The operations are various, and the essence simple; but we say that we know our God from His operations, but do not undertake to approach near to His essence. His operations come down to us; but His essence remains beyond our reach.—*N. & P.-N.F.* viii. 274.

No. 64.—Gratian's Distinction between Ecclesiastical and Civil or Criminal Cases, 376

From *Qui mos est* of May 17, 376 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 23).

The same custom that prevails in secular causes is to be observed in affairs ecclesiastical: to wit, that if any questions arise by way of dissensions or minor offences, pertaining to the observance of religion, these are to be heard locally and by the diocesan synods; excepting, however, such matters as some civil or criminal offence requires to be heard by the ordinary or the extraordinary judges or the authorities of illustrious rank.—K.

No. 65.—Gratian's Rescript on the Trial of Bishops, 380

From Rescriptum Gratiani Aug. ad Aquilinum Vicarium Urbis, § 6 (*P.L.* xiii. 586 *sq.* [or *Collectio Avellana* xiii. § 11, *C.S.E.L.* XXXV. i. 57 *sq.*]). *Ordinariorum sententiæ.*

[§ 6] We will that whosoever has been condemned by the judgment of Damasus which he had given with the advice of five or seven bishops, or who had been condemned by the judgment or advice of those bishops who are Catholics, if he unjustly desire to retain his church, or he who, summoned to the judgment of the bishops, had through contumacy not gone, should either by the Illustrious men, the Prætorian Prefects of Gaul and of Italy, be remitted to the episcopal judgment, or, summoned by the Proconsuls or Vicars, come under prosecution at the city of Rome; or, if the insubordination of any in such case should arise in the more distant parts, let the whole pleading of the cause be submitted to the consideration of the Metropolitan of the Province to which the bishop belongs, or if he himself is a Metropolitan, let the cause be necessarily taken without delay to Rome, or to those judges whom the Roman bishop shall appoint, provided always that, if any be deposed, they be kept away only from the confines of the city in which they were bishops. For, in the case of those who have seriously offended, our restraints are less, and in dealing with sacrilegious persistency our punishments

are more lenient, than the offender deserves. But, if the condemned bishop should suspect from any cause any misdoing or favour on the part of his Metropolitan or other episcopal judge, it shall be lawful for him to appeal to the Bishop of Rome, or to a synod of fifteen of the neighbouring bishops.[1]—K., and E. Denny, *Papalism*, § 207.

No. 66.—The Communion of Saints

From Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana, *De Symbolo* [c. 375], § 10, ed. A. E. Burn, 48 *sq.*

[§ 10] After confessing the blessed Trinity, thou goest on to profess that thou believest in *the Holy Catholic Church.* What else is the Church than the congregation of all saints? From the beginning of the world, be it patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, prophets, apostles, martyrs or all other just men, who have been, are, or shall be, are one Church because they are sanctified by one faith and life, sealed by one Spirit, made one body; of which body the head is held to be Christ, as indeed it is written. I go further. Even angels, virtues and powers supernal are united in this one Church; for the Apostle teaches that in Christ all things are reconciled, whether things on earth or things in heaven. So in this one Church thou believest that thou art to attain *the Communion of Saints.* Thou must know that this one Church is ordered throughout the whole world, and to its communion thou oughtest firmly to adhere. There are, indeed, other pseudo-churches, but thou hast nothing in common with them; as, for instance, churches of Manichæans, Montanists, Marcionites, and other heretics or schismatics. For they have ceased to be holy churches, inasmuch as they have been deceived by doctrines of demons, and both believe and do otherwise than is required by the commands of Christ the Lord and the traditions of the Apostles.—K.

[1] Gratian's reply to No. 58.

No. 67.—The "Nicene" or "Constantinopolitan" Creed, *c.* 370–80

From F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 140–4.

1. *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty,*
   Maker of heaven and earth,
   And of all things visible and invisible:
2. *And in one Lord Jesus Christ,*
   The Only-begotten Son of God,
   Begotten of his Father before all worlds,
   LIGHT OF LIGHT,
   VERY GOD OF VERY GOD,
   BEGOTTEN, NOT MADE,
   BEING OF ONE SUBSTANCE WITH THE FATHER,
   THROUGH WHOM ALL THINGS WERE MADE;
3. WHO FOR US MEN AND FOR OUR SALVATION CAME DOWN **from** the **heavens,**[1]
   And † *was incarnate* † *of* the *Holy Ghost and* the *Virgin* Mary,
   And was made man;
4. *Was crucified* also **for us under Pontius Pilate,**[2] and SUFFERED *and was buried,*
5. And *the third day he rose again* **according to the Scriptures,**[3]
6. *And ascended into the heavens,*
   And † *sitteth* † *on the right hand of the Father,*
7. *And he shall come again* **with**[4] *glory to judge both quick and dead,*
   Whose Kingdom shall have no end.[5]
8. *And in* **the** *Holy Ghost,* **the Lord** and **the Life-giver**[6]
   Who proceedeth from the Father,[7]
   Who with Father and Son together is worshipped and together is glorified,
   Who spake † through † *the Prophets.*
9. *In one Holy Catholic* and Apostolic *Church.*
10. We acknowledge *one baptism unto remission of sins,*

[1] John iii. 13; vi. 38.
[2] 1 Cor. i. 13; 1 Tim. vi. 13.
[3] 1 Cor. xv. 4.
[4] Matt. xxiv. 30.
[5] Luke i. 33.
[6] 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18; John vi. 63.
[7] 1 Cor. ii. 12; John xv. 26.

11. We look for *a resurrection* of dead persons,
12. And *the life* of *the world* to come.

[(1) Words in *italic type* represent the Creed of Jerusalem as expounded in the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril delivered in 347, and collected in C. A. Heurtley, *De fide et symbolo*, 12 *sq.*, except for differences which do not affect the sense (marked ††) in clauses (3), (6), and (8); omissions of "the Paraclete" in (8) and "of repentance" after "baptism" in (10); while (11) takes the place of "a resurrection of flesh" and (12) of "eternal life."

(2) Words in SMALL CAPITALS are from the Creed of the Council of Nicæa, 325.

(3) Words in **thick type** are from the New Testament.

It thus appears that the "Nicene" or "Constantinopolitan" Creed is the Creed of Jerusalem with—

(1) A series of clauses inserted into (2), (3), (4) from the Creed of the Council of Nicæa, to exclude Arianism.
(2) Some alterations not affecting the sense.
(3) A second series of clauses, partly from N.T., added to (8), to meet the "Macedonian" or "Pneumatomachian" errors as to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit which began to appear, *c.* 356.—K.]

No. 68.—The Invocation, ? *c.* 370–80.

From *The Liturgy of St. Mark* (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, i. 133 *sq.*).

O Almighty Lord and Master, King of heaven, we, announcing the death of thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and confessing His blessed Resurrection from the dead on the third day, confess also His Ascension into heaven, and His session on thy right hand, His God and Father, looking also for His second and fearful and dreadful coming, when He shall come to judge the quick and the dead in righteousness, and to render to every man according to his works. Spare us, O Lord our God. We have set before Thee Thine own, of Thine own gifts.

And we pray and beseech thee, O good God and Lover of men, to send down from Thy holy height, and appointed

habitation, and incircumscript bosom, the very Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, the Holy, the Lord, the Life-giving; Who spake in the Law and by the Prophets and the Apostles: Who is everywhere present and filleth all things, and works of His own freewill, and not as a minister, according to Thy good pleasure, in those in whom He wills, sanctification. One in His nature, manifold in His energies, fountain of Divine graces; consubstantial with Thee, proceeding from Thee, fellow-sharer in the throne of Thy Kingdom, and of Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Look then upon us and send forth on us, and on these loaves, and on these cups, Thy Holy Ghost, that He may sanctify and perfect them as God Almighty, [*aloud*] and make this bread the Body, [*People*] Amen, [*Priest, aloud*] and this cup, the Blood of the New Testament of our very Lord and God and Saviour and Universal King, Jesus Christ. [*Deacon*] Come down, ye Deacons; join in the prayers, ye Priests. [*Priest, aloud*] That they may be to all of us who participate in them for faith, for sobriety, for healing, for temperance, for sanctification, for renovation of soul, body and spirit, for participation of the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, for the glory of Thy Holy Name, for the remission of sins, that Thy most holy and precious and glorious Name may here, as also in every place, be hallowed and hymned and sanctified with Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost. [*People*] As it was and is and shall be unto generations of generations and unto all the ages of ages. Amen.—J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale, *Translations of Primitive Liturgies*, 23 *sq.* [slightly modified].

["The last phase of the Arian controversy finally resulted in the doctrinal definition of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit [see No. 67]. It is only natural that this doctrinal settlement should have had some influence on that part of the Liturgy which deals with the work of the Holy Spirit; with the result that the old prayer for a worthy communion was enlarged by the addition of a direct reference to the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of the elements, and this addition speedily became the most prominent feature of the prayer, thus effecting the development of the ἐπίκλησις from its primitive purpose into the

actual consecrating formula."—R. M. Woolley, *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, 111.]

No. 69.—Catholic and Heretic, 380

From *Cunctos populos*, Feb. 27, 380, of Theodosius I. (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. i. 2).

It is our pleasure that all the nations, which are governed by our Clemency and Moderation, should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition has preserved; and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the Apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and, as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of Heretics; and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our Authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them.—E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. xxvii (published by Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, London, 1806, Vol V. p. 14 *sq.*).

No. 70.—The Creed [381] of Ulfilas, Bishop of the Goths, 341–†81

From A. Hahn, *Symbole*,[3] § 198.

I, Ulfilas, bishop and confessor, have always thus believed, and in this one and true faith I make my testament before my Lord: I believe there is one God, the Father, alone unbegotten and invisible, and I believe in His Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, Creator and Maker of the whole creation, not having any like unto Him—therefore there is one God of all, who is also God of our God—and in one Holy Spirit, an enlightening and sanctifying power—(as Christ says for warning to His Apostles: "Behold, I send

the promise of My Father upon you; but do ye dwell in the city of Jerusalem until ye be clothed with power from on high." And again: "And ye shall receive power coming upon you by the Holy Spirit")—neither God nor Lord, but the minister of Christ [in all things], neither [King, but] subjected and obedient in all things to the Son, and in the Son subjected and obedient in all things to [His] God and Father . . . through Christ . . . in the Holy Spirit.—C. A. A. Scott, *Ulfilas*, 109.

No. 71.—The Third Canon of the Council of Constantinople, 381

From Mansi., *Concilia*, iii. 560 C.

The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honour next after the Bishop of Rome, because that Constantinople is new Rome.—K.

No. 72.—A Plea for Paganism, 384

From *Relatio Symmachi*,[1] §§ 9, 10; *ap.* Ambrose, (*Op.* II. i. 830; *P.L.* xvi. 968 *sq.*).

[§ 9] Let us suppose Rome herself to approach and address you in these terms: "Excellent Emperors,[2] Fathers of your country, respect these years to which pious rites have conducted me. Let me use the ancient ceremonies, for I do not repent of them. Let me live in my own way, for I am free. This worship reduced the world under my laws; these sacred rites repulsed Hannibal from the walls, and the Gauls from the Capitol. Am I reserved for this, to be censured in my old age? I am not unwilling to consider the proposed decree, and yet late and ignominious is the reformation of old age."

[§ 10] We pray, therefore, for a respite for the gods of our fathers and our native gods. That which all venerate should in fairness be accounted as one. We look on the same stars, the heaven is common to us all, the same world surrounds us. What matters it by what arts each of us

[1] Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, 340–†402; Prefect of the city, 384; Consul, 391.

[2] Valentinian II., Theodosius I. and Arcadius.

seeks for truth? We cannot arrive by one and the same path at so great a secret; but this discussion belongs rather to persons at their ease; it is prayers, not arguments, which we now offer.—*L.F.* xlv. 97.

No. 73.—Ambrose's Reply to Symmachus, 384

From Ambrose, *Ep.* xviii. §§ 4–6, 8 (*Op.* II. i. 833–5; *P.L.* xvi. i. 972–4).

[§ 4] According to his first proposition, Rome utters a mournful complaint, wanting back (as he asserts) her ancient ceremonies. These sacred rites, he says, repelled Hannibal from the walls, the Gauls from the Capitol. But even here, in blazoning the efficacy of these rites, he betrays their weakness. According to this, Hannibal long insulted the Roman religion, and pushed his conquest to the very walls of the city, though the gods fought against him. Why did they, for whom their gods fought, allow themselves to be besieged?

[§ 5] For why speak of the Gauls, whom the remnant of the Romans could not have prevented from entering the sanctuary of the Capitol, if the timid cackling of a goose had not betrayed them? These are the guardians of the Roman temples! Where was Jupiter then? Did he speak in a goose?

[§ 6] But why should I deny that their sacred rites fought for the Romans? Yet Hannibal also worshipped the same gods. Let them choose, therefore, which they will. If these rites conquered in the Romans, they were vanquished in the Carthaginians; but, if they were thus overcome in the case of the Carthaginians, neither did they profit the Romans.

[§ 8] By a single path, he says, we cannot arrive at so great a secret. What you are ignorant of, that we have learnt by the voice of God; what you seek after by faint surmises, that we are assured of by the very Wisdom and Truth of God. Our customs, therefore, and yours do not agree. You ask the Emperors to grant peace to your gods, we pray for peace for the Emperors themselves from Christ. You worship the works of your own hands; we think it sacrilege that anything which can be made should be called

God. God wills not to be worshipped under the form of stones. Nay, your very philosophers have ridiculed this.—*L.F.* xlv. 101–3.

No. 74.—Imperial Confirmation of a Papal Election, Feb. 24, 385

From the rescript of Valentinian II., 383–†92, to Pinian, Vicar of the City (*Cod. Avell.* iv.; *C.S.E.L.* XXXV. i. 47 *sq.*).

[§ 1] To our well-beloved Pinian, greeting.—That the people of the Eternal City should rejoice in harmony and elect so excellent a bishop, We perceive to be in accordance with the disposition of the Roman people, and we congratulate them on its having happened in our times.

[§ 2] Accordingly, inasmuch as they have not only expressed their wishes that the religious and holy Bishop Siricius should thus preside over the clergy, but by their acclamations have rejected Ursinus as a wrong-doer, let the aforesaid bishop, well-beloved and dearest Pinian, continue in office with our hearty approval. They have given signal proof of their integrity and uprightness when, by one and the same acclamation, they elected Siricius and rejected the rest.—K.

No. 75.—Celibacy of the Clergy and the Authority of the Roman See, 385

From the decretal of Siricius, Bishop of Rome, 384–†98, to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona: *Ep.* i. §§ 9, 10, 20 (*P.L.* xiii. 1138 *sq.*, 1146 *sq.*).

[§ 9.] . . . Why did he admonish them to whom the holy of holies was committed, "Be ye holy; for I the Lord your God am holy"?[1] Why were they commanded to dwell in the Temple in the year of their turn to officiate, afar from their own homes? Evidently it was for the reason that they might not be able to maintain their marital relations with their wives, so that, adorned with a pure conscience, they might offer to God an acceptable sacrifice. After the time of their service was accomplished, they were permitted

[1] Lev. xx. 7.

to resume their marital relations for the sake of continuing the succession, because only from the tribe of Levi was it ordained that any one should be admitted to the priesthood.

[§ 10] Wherefore also our Lord Jesus when, by His coming, He brought us light, solemnly affirmed in the Gospel that He came not to destroy, but to fulfil the Law. And therefore He who is the bridegroom of the Church wished that its form should be resplendent with chastity, so that in the Day of Judgment, when He should come again, He might find it without spot or blemish, as He taught by His Apostle. And by the rule of its ordinances which may not be gainsaid, we who are priests and Levites are bound from the day of our ordination to keep our bodies in soberness and modesty, so that in those sacrifices which we offer daily to our God we may please Him in all things.

[§ 20] . . . To each of the cases, which by our son Bassianus you have referred to the Roman Church as the head of your body, we have returned, as I think, a sufficient answer. Now we exhort your brotherly mind more and more to obey the canons and to observe the decretals that have been drawn up, that those things which we have written to your enquiries you may cause to be brought to the attention of all our fellow-bishops, and not only of those who are placed in your diocese, but also of the Carthaginians, the Bætici, the Lusitani, and the Gauls, and those who in neighbouring provinces border upon you, those things which by us have been helpfully decreed may be sent accompanied by your letters. And although no priest of the Lord is free to ignore the statutes of the Apostolic See and the venerable definitions of the canons, yet it would be more useful and, on account of the long time you have been in holy orders, exceedingly glorious for you, if those things which have been written you especially by name, might through your agreement with us be brought to the notice of all our brethren; and that, seeing that they have not been drawn up inconsiderately, but prudently and with very great care, they should remain inviolate, and that, for the future, opportunity for any excuse might be cut off, which is now open to no one among us.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, etc., 415–7.

No. 76.—The "Dread Tribunal" at Antioch, March 31, 387

From Chrysostom, *Hom.* xiii., *In pop. Ant.* §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* II. i. 133–5; *P.G.* xlix. 135–8).

[§ 1] With the same introduction and prelude that I began yesterday and the day before, I shall begin to-day. Now again I will say, "Blessed be God!" What a day did we see last Wednesday! and what in the present! At that time how heavy was its gloom! How bright the calm of this present day! This was the day when that fearful tribunal was set in the city, and shook the hearts of all, and made the day to seem no better than the night; not because the beams of the sun were extinguished, but because that fear and sadness darkened your eyes. . . .

When the greater portion of the city had taken refuge from the fear and danger of that occasion, in secret places, in deserts and in hollows; terror besetting them in all directions; and the houses were empty of women, and the forum of men, and scarce two or three appeared walking together across it, and even those going about as if they had been animated corpses: at this period, I proceeded to the tribunal of justice, for the purpose of seeing the end of these transactions; and there . . . although a multitude was around the doors, there was the profoundest silence. . . . Such was the state of things outside the doors; but when I entered within the court, other sights I saw which were still more awful; soldiers armed with swords and clubs, and strictly keeping the peace for the judges within. . . .

One sight there was more pitiable than all: a mother and a sister of a certain person, who was among those under trial within, sat in the very vestibule of the court of justice, rolling themselves on the pavement, and becoming a common spectacle to all the bystanders; veiling their faces and showing no sense of shame, but that which the urgency of the calamity permitted. No maidservant, nor neighbour, nor female friend, nor any other relative accompanied them. But surrounded in the midst of so many soldiers, alone, and meanly clad, and dragging themselves along upon the ground, about the very doors, they

were in a more pitiable case than those who were undergoing judgment within; and hearing as they did the voice of the executioners, the strokes of the scourge, the wailings of those who were scourged, the fearful threats of the judges, they themselves endured, at every scourging, sharper pains than those who were beaten.

[§ 2] . . . These things then beholding, I cast in my mind "That Dread Tribunal"; and I said within myself, "If now, when men are the judges, neither mother, nor sister, nor father nor any other person, though guiltless of the deeds which have been perpetrated, can avail to rescue the criminals, who will stand by us when we are judged at the Dread Tribunal of Christ? Who will dare to raise his voice? Who will be able to rescue those who shall be led away to such unspeakable punishments? Notwithstanding they were the first men of the city who were then brought to trial, and the very chief of the nobility, yet they would have been glad . . . to lose all their possessions, yea, if need were, their liberty itself, so that they might continue to enjoy this present life.—*L.F.* xlii. 218–22.

No. 77.—The Suppression of Apollinarianism, March 10, 388

From *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 14.

Apollinarians and all other adherents of divers heresies we order to be inhibited from all places, from walled cities, from civilized society, from the communion of saints. They are to have no authority to appoint clergy; they are to be denied the opportunity of assembling congregations whether in public or in private churches. No permission is to be accorded to them to make bishops; their bishops are to be deprived of the title, the appellation of this dignity. They are to betake themselves specially to places where they are shut off by a long distance from human society. To these requirements we add one more, viz. that all the aforementioned persons are to be refused entry for approaching, and appealing to, our Serenity.—K.

No. 78.—Julian at Eleusis

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Orat.* iv. §§ 55–6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P.G.* xxxv. 577).

[§ 55] He had descended into one of those sanctuaries, inaccessible to the multitude, and feared by all (as would that he had feared the way leading unto hell, before proceeding to such extremities), in company with the man that was as bad as many sanctuaries put together, the wise in such things, or sophist more rightly to be called; for this is a kind of divination amongst them to confer with darkness, as it were, and the subterranean demons concerning future events: whether that they delight more in darkness, because they are darkness, and makers of the darkness of wickedness, or that they shun the contact of pious persons above ground, because through such they lose their power. But when, as my fine fellow proceeded in the rites, the frightful things assailed him, unearthly noises as they say, and unpleasant odours, and fiery apparitions, and other fables and nonsense of the sort, being terror-struck at the novelty (for he was yet a novice in these matters), he flies for help to the Cross, his old remedy, and makes the sign thereof against his terrors, and makes an ally of him whom he persecuted. And what follows is yet more horrible.

[§ 56] The seal prevailed: the demons are worsted: the terrors are allayed. And then, what follows? The wickedness revives: he takes courage again: the attempt is repeated, the same terrors return: again the sign of the Cross, and the vanishing demons; the neophyte in despair. The celebrant is at hand, explaining away the truth: "We have made ourselves abominable, we have not terrified them": the worse side conquers, for these were his words: and by dint of talking, he persuades, and by persuading he leads his disciple into the pit of perdition. And no wonder at it, for a vicious disposition is more ready to follow what is *better* than to be checked by what is better. Now what he said, did or was deceived in, before he was sent up again, those may know who initiate and are initiated into these rites: at any rate, he re-ascends full of the demon both in mind and in his actions, and indicating by the frenzy of his eyes whom he had been worshipping: if indeed he was not

possessed with a demon from the very day on which he first took up with such bad ideas; but then it became more conspicuous, in order that he might not have gone down there in vain, and become partaker with demons: a thing which those people call "enthusiasm," putting a handsome name upon it.—C. W. King, *Julian the Emperor*, 31 *sq.*

No. 79.—Julian's Tribute to the Christian Church

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Orat.* iv. § 111 (*Op.* i. 138 *sq.*; *P.G.* xxxv. 648 C).

[§ 111] Julian also, having the same design, was intending to establish schools in every town, with pulpits and higher and lower rows of benches, for lectures and expositions of the heathen doctrines, both of such as give rules of morality and those that treat of abstruse subjects; also a form of prayer alternately pronounced, and penance for those that sinned proportionate to the offence; initiation also, and completion, and other things that evidently belong to our constitution. He was purposing also to build inns and hospices for pilgrims, monasteries for men, convents for virgins, places for meditation, and to establish a system of charity for the relief of prisoners, and also that which is conducted by means of letters of recommendation by which we forward such as require it from one nation to another—things which he had especially admired in our institutions. —C. W. King, *Julian the Emperor*, 74 *sq.*

No. 80.—Julian as an Undergraduate at Athens, 355

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Orat.* v. § 23 (*Op.* i. 161 *sq.*; *P.G.* xxxv. 692 B).

This character of his had previously been detected by some; ever since I lived with this person at Athens; for he too had gone thither, immediately after the catastrophe of his brother, having himself solicited this permission from the Emperor. . . . At that time, therefore, I remember that I became no bad judge of his character, though far from being of much sagacity in that line; but what made me a

true guesser was the inconsistency of his behaviour and his extreme excitability (that is, if he be the best diviner who knows how to guess shrewdly). A sign of no good seemed to me to be his neck unsteady, his shoulders always in motion and shrugging up and down like a pair of scales, his eye rolling and glancing from side to side with a certain insane expression, his feet unsteady and stumbling, his nostrils breathing insolence and disdain, the gestures of his face ridiculous and expressing the same feelings, his bursts of laughter unrestrained and gusty, his nods of assent and dissent without any reason, his speech stopping short and interrupted by his taking breath, his questions without any order and unintelligent, his answers not a whit better than his questions, following one on top of the other, and not definite nor returned in the regular order of instruction.—C. W. King, *Julian the Emperor*, 104 *sq.*

No. 81.—The Election of Eusebius to be Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, 362–†70

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Orat.* xviii. § 33 (*Op.* i. 354; *P.G.* xxxv. 1027).

[§ 33] . . . The city of Cæsarea was in an uproar about the election of a bishop; for one[1] had just departed, and another must be found, amidst heated partisanship not easily to be soothed. For the city was naturally exposed to party spirit, owing to the fervour of its faith, and the rivalry was increased by the illustrious position of the see. Such was the state of affairs; several bishops had arrived to consecrate the bishop; the populace was divided into several parties, each with its own candidate, as is usual in such cases, owing to the influences of private friendship or devotion to God; but at last the whole people came to an agreement, and, with the aid of a band of soldiers at that time quartered there, seized one[2] of their leading citizens, a man of excellent life but not yet sealed with the divine baptism, brought him against his will to the sanctuary, and setting him before the bishops begged, with entreaties mingled with violence, that he might be consecrated and

[1] Dianius, abp. 341–†62. [2] Eusebius.

proclaimed, not in the best of order but with all sincerity and ardour. Nor is it possible to say whom time pointed out as more illustrious and religious than he was. What then took place, as the result of the uproar? Their resistance[1] was overcome, they purified him, they proclaimed him, they enthroned him.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vii. 265.

No. 82.—The Divinity of the Holy Spirit a Case of Development in Doctrine

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Orat.* xxxi. [380] § 27 (*Op.* ii. 573 *sq.*; *P.G.* xxxvi. 164).

[§ 27] You see lights breaking upon us gradually; and the order of Theology, which it is better for us to keep, neither proclaiming things too suddenly, nor yet keeping them hidden to the end. For the former course would be unscientific, the latter atheistical; and the former would be calculated to startle outsiders, the latter to alienate our own people. I will add another point to what I have said; one which may readily have come into the mind of some others, but which I think a fruit of my own thought. Our Saviour had some things which He said could not be borne at that time by His disciples (though perhaps they were filled with many teachings), perhaps for the reasons I have mentioned; and therefore they were hidden. And again He said that all things should be taught us by the Spirit when He should come to dwell amongst us. Of these things one, I take it, was the Deity of the Spirit himself, made clear later on when such knowledge should be seasonable and capable of being received after our Saviour's restoration, when it would no longer be received with incredulity because of its marvellous character. For what greater thing than this did either He promise, or the Spirit teach? If indeed anything is to be considered great and worthy of the Majesty of God, which was either promised or taught.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vii. 326.

[1] *sc.* of the bishops.

No. 83.—The Lordliness of Prelates, 381

From "The last Farewell" of Gregory of Nazianzus, Archbishop of Constantinople, 380–1, in *Orat.* xlii. § 24 (*Op.* ii. 765; *P.G.* xxxvi. 486).

[§ 24] Perhaps we may be reproached, as we have been before, with the exquisite character of our table, the splendour of our apparel, the officers who precede us, our haughtiness to those who meet us. I was not aware that we ought to rival the consuls, the governors, the most illustrious generals, who have no opportunity of lavishing their incomes; or that our belly ought to hunger for the enjoyment of the goods of the poor, and to expend their necessaries on superfluities, and belch forth over the altars. I did not know that we ought to ride on splendid horses, and drive in magnificent carriages, and be preceded by a procession and surrounded by applause, and have every one make way for us, as if we were wild beasts, and open out a passage so that our approach might be seen afar. If these sufferings have been endured, they have now passed away: "Forgive me this wrong." Elect another who will please the majority; and give me my desert, my country life, and my God, whom alone I may have to please, and shall please by my simple life.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vii. 393.

No. 84.—A Criticism of Apollinarianism, 382

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Ep.* ci. (*Op.* iii. 85 *sqq.*; *P.G.* xxxvii. 177 *sqq.*).

[177 B] . . . Do not let the men deceive themselves and others with the assertion that the "Man of the Lord," as they call Him, who is rather our Lord and God, is without human mind. For we do not sever the Man from the Godhead, but we lay down as a dogma the unity and identity of Person, who of old was not man but God, and the only Son before all ages, unmingled with body or anything corporeal; but who, in these last days, has assumed manhood also for our salvation; passible in His flesh, impassible in His Godhead; circumscript in the body, uncircumscript in the Spirit; at once earthly and heavenly, tangible and intangible, [C] comprehensible and incompre-

hensible; that by one and the same Person, who was perfect man and also God, the entire humanity, fallen through sin, might be created anew.

If any one does not believe that holy Mary is the mother of God,[1] he is severed from the Godhead. If any one should assert that He passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not at once divinely and humanly formed in her (divinely, because without the intervention of a man; humanly, because in accordance with the laws of gestation), he is in like manner godless. If any assert that the manhood was formed, and afterwards clothed [180 A] with the Godhead, he too is to be condemned. For this were not a generation of God, but a shirking of generation. If any introduce the notion of two sons, one of God the Father, the other of the mother, and discredits the unity and identity, may he lose his part in the adoption promised to those who believe aright. For God and man are two natures,[2] as also soul and body are; but there are not two Sons or two Gods. For neither in this life are there two manhoods; though Paul speaks in some such language of the inner and the outer man. And (if I am to speak concisely) the Saviour is made of elements which are distinct from one another (for the invisible is not the same with the visible, nor the timeless with that which is subject to time), yet He is not two Persons. God forbid! For both natures are one by the combination, the Deity being made man and the manhood deified, or however one should express it. And I say different elements, because it is the reverse of [B] what is the case in the Trinity; for there we acknowledge different Persons so as not to confound the Persons;[3] but not different elements, for the Three are one and the same in Godhead.

If any should say that it wrought in Him by grace as in a prophet, but was not and is not united with Him in essence, let him be emptied of the higher energy, or rather full of the opposite. If any worship not the Crucified, let him be anathema and be numbered among the Deicides. If any assert that He was made perfect by works, or that, after His baptism, or after His resurrection from the dead,

[1] Θεοτόκος. [2] φύσεις δύο. [3] ὑποστάσεις.

He was counted worthy of an adoptive Sonship, like those whom the Greeks interpolate as added to the ranks of the gods, let him be anathema. . . . [181 B] . . . If any one assert that his flesh came down from heaven, and is not from hence, nor of us though above us, let him be anathema. For the words "The second man is from heaven"[1] and "As is the heavenly, such are they that are heavenly,"[2] and "No man hath ascended up into heaven, save He which came down from heaven, even the Son of man,"[3] and the like, are to be understood as said on account of the union [C] with the heavenly; just as that "all things were made by Christ,"[4] and that "Christ dwelleth in your hearts" is said not of the visible nature which belongs to God, but of what is perceived by the mind, the names being mingled like the natures, and flowing into one another according to the law of their intimate union.

If any one has put his trust in Him as a man without a human mind,[5] he is really bereft of mind and quite unworthy of salvation. For that which He has not assumed, He has not healed; but that which is united to His Godhead, [184 A] is also saved. If only half Adam fell, then that which Christ assumes and saves may be half also; but if the whole of his nature fell, it must be united to the whole nature of Him that was begotten, and so be saved as a whole. Let them not then begrudge us our complete salvation, or clothe the Saviour only with bones and nerves and the portraiture of humanity. For if His manhood is without soul,[6] even the Arians admit this, that they may attribute His passion to the Godhead, as that which gives motion to the body is also that which suffers. But if He has a soul,[7] and yet is without a mind,[8] how is He man? For man is not a mindless animal. And this would necessarily involve that while His form and tabernacle was human, His soul[9] should be that of a horse or an ox, or some other of the brute creation. This, then, would be what He saves; and I have been deceived by the Truth, and led to boast of an honour [B] which had been bestowed

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 47. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 48. [3] John iii. 13.
[4] John i. 3. [5] ἄνουν. [6] ἄψυχος.
[7] ἔμψυχος. [8] οὐ νοερός. [9] ψυχή.

upon another. But if His manhood is intellectual, and not without mind, let them cease to be thus really mindless.

But, says such an one, the Godhead took the place of the human intellect. How does this touch me? For Godhead joined to flesh[1] alone is not man, nor to soul[2] alone, nor to both apart from intellect,[3] which is the most essential part of man. Keep then the whole man, and mingle Godhead therewith, that you may benefit me in my completeness.

But, he asserts, He could not contain two complete natures.[4] Not if you only look at Him in a bodily fashion. For a bushel measure will not hold two bushels, nor will the space of one body hold two or more bodies. [C] But if you will look at what is mental and incorporeal, remember that I in my one personality can contain soul and reason and mind and the Holy Spirit; and, before me, this world, by which I mean the system of things visible and invisible, contained Father, Son and Holy Ghost. For such is the nature of intellectual existences that they can mingle with one another and with bodies, incorporeally and invisibly. For many sounds are comprehended by one ear; and the eyes of many are occupied by the same visible objects, and the smell by odours; nor are the senses narrowed by each other, or crowded out, nor the objects of sense diminished by the multitude of the perceptions. [185 A] But where is there mind of man or angel so perfect in comparison of the Godhead that the presence of the greater must crowd out the other? . . .

[B] . . . But, it may be said, our mind is subject to condemnation. What then of [C] our flesh? Is not that subject to condemnation? You must therefore either set aside the latter on account of sin, or admit the former on account of salvation. . . . And I will add this also. If the mind was utterly rejected as prone to sin and subject to damnation, and for this reason He assumed a body but left out the mind, then there is an excuse for them who sin with the mind; for the witness of God—according to you—has shown the impossibility of healing it. . . .

[188 A] . . . Further, let us see what is their account of the

[1] σὰρξ. [2] ψυχή. [3] νοῦς. [4] δύο τέλεια.

assumption of manhood, or the assumption of flesh, as they call it. If it was in order that God, otherwise incomprehensible, might be comprehended, and might "converse with men"[1] through His flesh, as through a veil, their mask and the drama which they represent is a pretty one, not to say that it was open to Him to converse with us in other ways, as of old, in the burning bush,[2] [B] and in the appearance of a man.[3] But if it was that He might destroy the condemnation by sanctifying like by like, then, as He needed flesh for the sake of the flesh which had incurred condemnation, and soul for the sake of our soul, so too He needed mind for the sake of mind, which not only fell in Adam, but was the first to be affected, as the doctors say of illnesses. . . . Therefore mind was taken upon Him.

[189 A] . . . They run to the flesh, because they do not know the custom of Scripture. We will teach them this also. For what need is there even to mention to those who know it, the fact that everywhere in Scripture He is called man and the Son of Man?

If, however, they rely on the passage, "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us,"[4] and because of this erase the noblest part of man (as cobblers do the thicker part of skins) that they may join together God and flesh, it is time for them to say that God is God only of flesh, and not of souls, because it is written, "As Thou hast given him power over all flesh,"[5] and "Unto Thee shall all flesh come,"[6] and "Let all [B] flesh bless His holy Name,"[7] meaning "every man." . . . They who argue thus do not know that such expressions are used by Synecdoche, declaring the whole by the part.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vii. 439–42.

No. 85.—The Futility of Councils

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Ep.* cxxx. [A.D. 382] to Procopius, Prefect of Constantinople (*Op.* iii. 110; *P.G.* xxxvii. 225 A).

For my part, if I am to write the truth, my inclination is to avoid all assemblies of bishops, because I have never

[1] Baruch iii. 37. [2] Exod. iii. 2. [3] Gen. xviii. 5.
[4] John i. 14. [5] John xvii. 2. [6] Ps. lxv. 2. [7] Ps. cxlv. 21.

seen any Council come to a good end, nor turn out to be a solution of evils. On the contrary, it usually increases them. You always find there love of contention and love of power (I hope you will not think me a bore, for writing like this), which beggar description; and, while sitting in judgment on others, a man might well be convicted of ill-doing himself long before he should put down the ill-doings of his opponents. So I retired into myself; and came to the conclusion that the only security for one's soul lies in keeping quiet. Now, moreover, this determination of mine is supported by ill-health; for I am always on the point of breathing my last, and am hardly able to employ myself to any effect. I trust, therefore, that, of your generosity, you will make allowances for me, and that you will be good enough to persuade our most religious Emperor also not to condemn me for taking things quietly, but to make allowances for my ill-health. He knows how it was on this very account that he consented to my retirement, when I petitioned for this in preference to any other mark of his favour.—K.

No. 86.—Criticism of Apollinarianism, 387

From Gregory of Nazianzus, †390, *Ep.* ccii. (*Op.* iii. 166–9; *P.G.* xxxvii. 329–34) to Nectarius, Archbishop of Constantinople.

. . . Perhaps it will not be unseasonable that your Excellency should hear from my littleness that a pamphlet by Apollinaris has come into my hands, the contents of which surpass all heretical pravity. For he asserts that the Flesh which the only begotten Son assumed in the Incarnation for the remodelling of our nature was no new acquisition, but that that carnal nature was in the Son from the beginning. And he puts forward as a witness to this monstrous assertion a garbled quotation from the Gospels, namely, "No man hath ascended up into heaven save He which came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven."[1] As though, even before He came down, He was the Son of man; and, when He came down, He brought with Him that flesh, which it appears He had in

[1] John iii. 13.

heaven, as though it had existed before the ages and been conjoined with His essence. For he alleges another saying of an Apostle, which he cuts off from the whole body of its context, that "the second man is the Lord from heaven."[1] Then he assumes that that man who came down from above is without a mind but that the Godhead of the Only-begotten fulfils the function of mind, and is the third part of this human composite, inasmuch as soul and body are in it on its human side, but not mind, the place of which is taken by God the Word.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vii. 438.

No. 87.—The Council of Milan, 390, in Condemnation of Jovinian

From Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, 374–†97, *Ep.* xlii. §§ 4, 6 (*Op.* II. i. 967; *P.L.* xvi. 1125 *sq.*).

[§ 4] How great is the madness of their dismal barkings, that the same persons should say that Christ could not be born of a Virgin, and yet assert that women, after having given birth to human pledges, remain virgins? Does Christ grant to others, what, as they assert, He could not grant to Himself? But He, although He took on Him our flesh, although He was made man that He might redeem man, and recall him from death, still, as being God, came upon earth in an extraordinary way, that as He had said, "Behold, I make all things new,"[2] so also He might be born of an immaculate Virgin, and be believed to be, as it is written, "God with us."[3] But from their perverse ways they are induced to say, "She was a virgin when she conceived, but not a virgin when she brought forth."[4] Could she then conceive as a virgin, and yet not be able to bring forth as a virgin, when conception always precedes and birth follows?

[§ 6] But what is that "gate of the sanctuary," that "outward gate which looketh towards the East, which remains shut and no man," it is said, "shall enter in by it but the Lord, the God of Israel?"[5] Is not Mary this gate, by whom

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 47. [2] Isa. xliii. 19. [3] Matt. i. 23.
[4] For four other propositions of Jovinian, see No. 143.
[5] Ezek. xliv. 1, 2.

the Saviour entered into the world? This is the gate of righteousness, as He Himself said, "Suffer us to fulfil all righteousness."[1] Blessed Mary is the gate whereof it is written that "the Lord hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut"[2] after birth; for as a virgin she both conceived and brought forth.—*L.F.* xlv. 283 *sq.*

No. 88.—Vigil and Eucharist on the Lord's Day, *c.* 390

From *S. Silviae Peregrinatio*, xxiv. § 8–xxv. § 1 (*C.S.E.L.* xxxix. 73 *sq.*).

Sunday Offices.

1. *Vigil.*

But on the seventh day,[3] that is on the Lord's Day, the whole multitude assembles before cockcrow, in as great numbers as the place can hold, as at Easter, in the basilica which is near the Anastasis, but outside the doors, where lights are hanging for the purpose. And for fear that they should not be there at cockcrow they come beforehand and sit down there. Hymns as well as antiphons are said, and prayers are made between the several hymns and antiphons, for at the vigils there are always both priests and deacons ready there for the assembling of the multitude, the custom being that the holy places are not opened before cockcrow. Now as soon as the first cock has crowed, the bishop arrives and enters the cave at the Anastasis; all the doors are opened and the whole multitude enters the Anastasis, where countless lights are already burning. And when the people have entered, one of the priests says a psalm to which all respond, and afterwards prayer is made; then one of the deacons says a psalm and prayer is again made, a third psalm is said by one of the clergy, prayer is made for the third time and there is a commemoration of all. After these three psalms and three prayers are ended, lo! censers are brought into the cave of the Anastasis so that the whole basilica of the Anastasis is

[1] Matt. iii. 15. [2] Ezek. xliv. 2.

[3] Etheria here calls the Lord's Day the seventh day, but only because she has just before spoken of the six days that precede it.

filled with odours. And then the bishop, standing within the rails, takes the book of the Gospel, and proceeding to the door, himself reads the (narrative of the) Resurrection of the Lord. And when the reading is begun, there is so great a moaning and groaning among all, with so many tears, that the hardest of hearts might be moved to tears for that the Lord had borne such things for us. After the reading of the Gospel the bishop goes out, and is accompanied to the Cross by all the people with hymns, there again a psalm is said and prayer is made, after which he blesses the faithful and the dismissal takes place, and as he comes out all approach to his hand. And forthwith the bishop betakes himself to his house, and from that hour all the monks return to the Anastasis, where psalms and antiphons, with prayer after each psalm or antiphon, are said until daylight; the priests and deacons also keep watch in turn daily at the Anastasis with the people, but of the lay people, whether men or women, those who are so minded, remain in the place until daybreak, and those who are not, return to their houses and betake themselves to sleep.

2. *Morning Services.*

Now at daybreak because it is the Lord's Day every one proceeds to the greater church, built by Constantine, which is situated in Golgotha behind the Cross, where all things are done which are customary everywhere on the Lord's Day. But the custom here is that of all the priests who take their seats, as many as are willing, preach, and after them all the bishop preaches, and these sermons are always on the Lord's Day, in order that the people may always be instructed in the Scriptures and in the love of God. The delivery of these sermons greatly delays the dismissal from the church, so that the dismissal does [not] take place before the fourth or perhaps the fifth hour.—*The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, edd. M. L. McClure and C. L. Feltoe, 49–51 (S.P.C.K., 1920).

No. 89.—Pagan Life in Rome, 353–69

From Ammianus Marcellinus (350–†400): *Res Gestæ*, [c. 390] XIV. vi. §§ 25–6; XXVIII. iv. § 28.

[§ 25] But of the lower and most indigent class of the populace some spend the whole night in the wine-shops. Some lie concealed in the shady arcades of the theatres (which Catulus was in his ædileship the first person to raise, in imitation of the lascivious manners of Campania), or else they play at dice so eagerly as to quarrel over them; snuffing up their nostrils and making unseemly noises by drawing back their breath into their noses; or (and this is their favourite pursuit of all others) from sunrise to evening they stay gaping through sunshine or rain, examining in the most careful manner the most sterling good or bad qualities of the charioteers and horses.

[§ 26] And it is very wonderful to see an innumerable multitude of people with great eagerness of mind intent upon the event of the contests in the chariot race. These pursuits, and others of like character, prevent anything worth mentioning or important from being done at Rome.

. . . . . .

[§ 28] And let us come to the idle and lazy common people, among whom some, who have not even got shoes, boast of high-sounding names: calling themselves Cimessores, Statarii, Semicupæ, Serapina, or Cicinibricus, or Glutariorus, Trulla, Lucanicus, Pordaca, or Salsula, with numbers of other similar appellations. These men spend their whole lives in drinking, and gambling, and brothels, and pleasures, and public spectacles; and to them the Circus Maximus is their temple, their home, their public assembly; in fact, their whole hope and desire.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, xxi. 491 *sq.*

No. 90.—The Character of Constantius, 337–†61

From Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestæ*, XXI. xvi.

[§ 1] In accurately distinguishing the virtues and vices of Constantius, it will be well to take the virtues first. Always preserving the dignity of the imperial authority,

he proudly and magnanimously disdained popularity. In conferring the higher dignities he was very sparing, and allowed very few changes to be made in the administration of the finances. Nor did he ever encourage the arrogance of the soldiers. . . .

[§ 4] He was a diligent cultivator of learning; but, as his blunted talent was not suited to rhetoric, he devoted himself to versification; in which, however, he did nothing worth speaking of.

[§ 5] In his way of life he was economical and temperate; and, by moderation in eating and drinking, he preserved such robust health that he was rarely ill; though, when ill, dangerously so. . . .

[§ 6] He was contented with very little sleep, which he took when time and season allowed; and throughout his long life he was so extremely chaste that no suspicion was ever cast on him in this respect: though it is a charge which, even when it can find no ground, malignity is apt to fasten on princes.

[§ 7] In riding and throwing the javelin, in shooting with the bow, and in all the accomplishments of military exercises, he was admirably skilful. That he never blew his nose in public, never spat, never was seen to change countenance, and that he never in all his life ate any fruit, I pass over as what has been often related before.

[§ 8] Having now briefly enumerated his good qualities with which we have been able to become acquainted, let us now proceed to speak of his vices. In other respects he was equal to average princes; but if he had the slightest reason (even if founded on wholly false information) for suspecting any one of aiming at supreme power, he would at once institute the most rigorous enquiry, trampling down right and wrong alike, and outdo the cruelty of Caligula, Domitian or Commodus, whose barbarity he rivalled at the very beginning of his reign, when he shamefully put to death his own connections and relatives. . . .

[§ 16] He was preposterously addicted to listening to his wives, and to the thin voices of his eunuchs, and some of his courtiers who applauded his words, and watched everything he said, whether in approval or disapproval, in order to agree with it.

[§ 17] The misery of these times was further increased by the insatiable covetousness of his tax-collectors, who brought him more odium than money; and to many persons it seemed the more intolerable, because he never listened to any excuse, never took any measures for relief of the provinces when oppressed by the multiplicity of taxes and imposts; and, in addition to all this, he was very apt to take back any exemptions which he had granted.

[§ 18] He confused the Christian religion, which is plain and simple, with old women's superstitions: in investigating which he preferred perplexing himself to settling its questions with dignity, so that he excited much dissension; which he further encouraged by diffuse wordy explanations: he ruined the establishment of public conveyances by devoting them to the service of crowds of priests, who went to and fro to different synods, as they call the meetings at which they endeavour to settle everything according to their own fancy.

[§ 19] As to his personal appearance and stature, he was of a dark complexion with prominent eyes; of keen sight, soft hair, with his cheeks carefully shaved, and bright-looking. From his waist to his neck he was rather long, his legs were very short and crooked.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, 272–5.

No. 91.—Julian and the Antiochenes

From Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestæ*, XXII. xiv. § 3.

[§ 3] For he was ridiculed as an ape; again, as a dwarf spreading out his narrow shoulders, wearing a beard like that of a goat, and taking huge strides, as if he had been the brother of Otus and Ephialtes, whose height Horace speaks of as enormous. At another time, he was "the victim-killer" instead of the worshipper, in allusion to the number of his victims; and this piece of ridicule was seasonable and deserved, as once out of ostentation he was fond of carrying the sacred vessels before the priests, attended by a train of girls. And although these and similar jests made him very indignant, he nevertheless kept silence, and concealed his emotions, and continued to celebrate the solemn festivals.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, 305 [slightly altered].

No. 92.—Julian's Attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem

From Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestæ*, XXIII. i. §§ 2, 3.

[§ 2] And although foreseeing in his anxious mind the various accidents that might happen, he urged on with great diligence all the endless preparations necessary for his expedition, yet distributing his diligence everywhere; and being eager to extend the recollection of his reign by the greatness of his exploits, he proposed to rebuild at a vast expense the once magnificent temple of Jerusalem, which after many deadly contests was with difficulty taken by Vespasian and Titus, who succeeded his father in the conduct of the siege. And he assigned the task to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been pro-prefect of Britain.

[§ 3] But though Alypius applied himself vigorously to the work, and though the governor of the province co-operated with him, fearful balls of fire burst forth with continual eruptions close to the foundations, burning several of the workmen, and making the spot altogether inaccessible. And thus the very elements, as if by some fate, repelling the attempt, it was laid aside.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, 317.

No. 93.—The Good and Bad Qualities of Julian, 361–†3

From Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestæ*, XXV. iv. §§ 1–21.

[§ 1] Julian was a man to be classed with heroic characters, and conspicuous for the brilliancy of his exploits and his innate majesty. For since, as wise men lay it down, there are four cardinal virtues—temperance, prudence, justice and fortitude—with corresponding external accessories, such as military skill, authority, prosperity and liberality, he eagerly cultivated them all, as if they had been but one.

[§ 2] And, in the first place, he was of a chastity so inviolate that, after the loss of his wife, he never indulged in any sexual pleasures. . . .

[§ 4] And this kind of temperance increased in him, being strengthened by a sparing indulgence in eating and

sleeping, to which he rigidly adhered whether abroad or at home.

[§ 5] And when, after being fatigued by labour, he had refreshed his body with a short rest, as soon as he awoke he would go by himself round all the sentries and outposts; after which he retired to his serious studies.

[§ 7] Of his prudence there were also many proofs, of which it will be sufficient to recount a few. He was profoundly skilled in war, and also in the arts of peace. He was very attentive to courtesy, claiming just so much respect as he considered to mark the difference between contempt and insolence. He was older in virtue than in years, being eager to acquire all kinds of knowledge. He was a most incorruptible judge, a rigid censor of morals and manners, mild, a despiser of riches, and indeed of all mortal things. Lastly, it was a common saying of his, "That it was beneath a wise man, since he had a soul, to aim at acquiring praise by his body."

[§ 8] Of his justice there are many conspicuous proofs: first, because, with all proper regard to circumstances and persons, he inspired awe without being cruel; secondly, because he repressed vice by making examples of a few; and also because he threatened severe punishment more frequently than he employed it.

[§ 9] Lastly, to pass over many circumstances, it is certain that he treated with extreme moderation some who were openly convicted of plotting against him, and mitigated the rigour of the punishment to which they were sentenced, with genuine humanity.

[§ 10] His many battles, and constant wars, displayed his fortitude, as did his endurance of extreme cold and heat. . . .

[§ 12] So great was his authority that, while he was feared, he was also greatly loved as his men's comrade in their perils and dangers. . . .

[§ 14] . . . After he quitted the regions of the West, they all remained tranquil during his lifetime, as if under the influence of a wand powerful enough to tranquillize the world.

[§ 15] Of his liberality there are many and undoubted proofs. Among which are his light exactions of tribute, his

remission of the tribute of crowns, and of debts long due, his putting the rights of individuals on an equal footing with those of the treasury, his restoration of their revenues and their lands to different cities, with the exception of such as had been lawfully sold by former princes; and also the fact that he was never covetous of money. . . .

[§ 16] Having discussed those of his good qualities which have come within our knowledge, let us now proceed to unfold his faults, though they have been already slightly noticed. He was of an unsteady disposition; but this fault he corrected by an excellent plan, allowing people to set him right when guilty of an indiscretion.

[§ 17] He was a frequent talker, rarely silent. Too much devoted to divination, so much so as in this particular to equal the Emperor Hadrian. He was rather a superstitious than a legitimate observer of sacred rites, sacrificing countless numbers of victims; so that it was reckoned that if he had returned from the Parthians, there would have been a scarcity of cattle. . . .

[§ 18] He was very fond of the applause of the common people, and an immoderate seeker after praise even in the most trifling matters; often, from a desire of popularity, indulging in conversation with unworthy persons.

[§ 19] But in spite of all this, he deserved, as he used to say himself, to have it thought that that ancient Justice, whom Aratus said fled to heaven from disgust with the vices of men, had in his reign returned again to the earth; only that sometimes he acted arbitrarily and inconsistently.

[§ 20] For he made some laws which, with but few exceptions, were not offensive, though they very positively enforced or forbade certain actions. Among the exceptions was that cruel one which forbade Christian masters of rhetoric and grammar to teach, unless they came over to the worship of the heathen gods.

[§ 21] And this other ordinance was equally intolerable, namely, one which allowed some persons to be unjustly enrolled in the companies of the municipal guilds, though they were foreigners, or by privilege or birth wholly unconnected with such companies.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, 383–6.

No. 94.—Damasus, Bishop of Rome, 366–†84

From Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestæ*, XXVII. iii. §§ 12–15.

[§ 12] Damasus and Ursinus, being both immoderately eager to obtain the bishopric, formed parties and carried on the conflict with great asperity, the partisans of each carrying their violence to actual battle, in which men were wounded and killed. And as Juventius [Prefect of the City] was unable to put an end to, or even to soften, these disorders, he was at last by their violence compelled to withdraw to the suburbs.

[§ 13] Ultimately, Damasus got the best of the strife by the strenuous efforts of his partisans. It is certain that on one day one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in the Basilica of Sicininus, which is a Christian church. And the populace who had been thus roused to a state of ferocity were with great difficulty restored to order.

[§ 14] I do not deny, when I consider the ostentation that reigns at Rome, that those who desire such rank and power may be justified in labouring with all possible exertion and vehemence to obtain their wishes; since, after they have succeeded, they will be secure for the future, being enriched by offerings from matrons, riding in carriages, dressing splendidly, and feasting luxuriously, so that their entertainments surpass even royal banquets.

[§ 15] And they might be really happy if, despising the vastness of the city, which they excite against themselves by their vices, they were to live in imitation of some of the priests [*i. e.* bishops] in the provinces, whom the most rigid abstinence in eating and drinking, and plainness of apparel, and eyes always cast on the ground, recommend to the everlasting Deity and His true worshippers as pure and sober-minded men.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, 441.

No. 95.—The Character of Valentinian I., 364–†75

From Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestæ*, XXVII. vii. § 4; XXIX. iii. § 9; XXX. ix. §§ 2, 4–6.

[§ 4] And although Valentinian was a man of undisguised ferocity, he nevertheless at the beginning of his reign, in

order to lessen the opinion of his cruelty, took all possible pains to restrain the fierce impetuosity of his disposition. But this defect increasing gradually, from having been checked for some time, presently broke out more unrestrained, to the ruin of many persons; and his severity was increased by the vehemence of his anger. . . .

[§ 9] . . . He kept two ferocious she-bears which were used to eat men; and they had names Golden Camel and Innocence, and these beasts he took such care of that he had their dens close to his bedchamber; and appointed over them trusty keepers who were bound to take especial care that the odious fury of these monsters should never be checked. At last he had Innocence set free, after he had seen the burial of many corpses which she had torn to pieces, giving her the range of the forests as a reward for her services.

[§ 2] He was, both at home and abroad, a strict observer of modesty and chastity, keeping his conscience wholly free from all taint of impurity or obscenity, and in consequence he bridled the wantonness of the Imperial court as with a strong rein; and he was the more able to do this because he had never shown any indulgence to his own relatives, whom he either kept in obscurity, or (if he promoted them at all) raised to a very moderate rank, with the exception of his brother, whom, in deference to the necessities of the times, he made his partner in the Imperial dignity.

[§ 4] In waging war, and in defending himself from attacks, he was prudent and very skilful, like a veteran of great experience in military affairs. He was a very wise admirer of all that was good, and dissuader from all that was bad; and a very accurate observer of all the details of military service. He wrote with elegance, and described everything with great neatness and skill in composition. He was an inventor of new arms. He had an excellent memory, and a fluent, easy style of speaking, which at times bordered closely upon eloquence. He was a lover of elegant simplicity, and was fond not so much of profuse banquets as of entertainments directed by good taste.

[§ 5] Lastly, he was especially remarkable during his reign for his moderation in this particular, that he kept a middle course between the different sects of religion; and

never troubled any one, nor issued any orders in favour of one kind of worship or another; nor did he promulgate any threatening edicts to bow down the necks of his subjects to the form of worship to which he himself was inclined; but he left those parties just as he found them, without making any alterations.

[§ 6] His body was muscular and strong: the brightness of his hair—the brilliancy of his complexion, with his blue eyes which always looked askance with a stern aspect—the beauty of his figure—his lofty stature, and the admirable harmony of all his features—filled up the dignity and beauty of an appearance which bespoke a monarch.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, 451, 523, 572 *sq.*

No. 96.—The Character of Gratian, 375–†83

From Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestæ*, XXXI. x. §§ 18, 19.

[§ 18] . . . He was indeed a young prince of admirable disposition, eloquent, moderate, warlike, and merciful, rivalling the most admirable of his predecessors, even while the down of youth was still upon his cheeks; the only drawback to his character being that he was sometimes drawn into ridiculous actions when, in consequence of temptations held out by his minions and favourites, he imitated the vain pursuits of Cæsar Commodus; but he was never bloodthirsty.

[§ 19] For as that prince . . . prided himself beyond measure on the skill with which he slew a hundred lions let loose at the same time in the amphitheatre with different missiles, and without ever having to repeat his shot; so Gratian, in the enclosures called preserves, slew wild beasts with his arrows, neglecting much serious business for this amusement, and this at a time when, if Marcus Antoninus had resumed the empire, he would have found it hard . . . to remedy the grievous disasters of the republic.—*Roman History*, tr. C. D. Yonge, 605.

No. 97.—Theodosius, 379–†95: The Prohibition of Sacrifice, February 24, 391

From *Nemo se hostiis* (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 10).

No one shall defile himself with sacrifices: no one shall slay an innocent victim: no one shall enter shrines, frequent temples and pay homage to images fashioned by mortal hands, lest he become guilty both by divine and human laws. Proconsuls also shall be bound by this requirement that, if any person surrender himself to a profane rite and enter a temple anywhere, whether on a journey or in the city, with the purpose of offering worship, he be forthwith subjected to a fine of fifteen pounds of gold. The officials of the Proconsul shall forfeit an equal sum with like speed if they do not resist the Proconsul [should he fail to carry out this enactment] and immediately report the matter with public attestation. Consulars shall be fined six pounds, and their officials subjected to similar requirements. Rectors and Presidents, four pounds; and their apparitors shall likewise pay a like sum.—K.

No. 98.—Theodosius, 379–†95: The Suppression of Pagan Worship, November 8, 392

From *Nullus omnino* (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 12).

Hereafter no one of whatever race or dignity, whether placed in office or discharged therefrom with honour, powerful by birth or humble in condition and fortune, shall in any place or in any city sacrifice an innocent victim to a senseless image, venerate with fire the household deity by a more private offering, as it were the genius of the house, or the Penates, and burn lights, place incense, or hang up garlands.

[§ 1] If any one undertakes by way of sacrifice to slay a victim, or to consult the smoking entrails, let him, as guilty of lese-majesty, receive the appropriate sentence, having been accused by a lawful indictment, even though he shall not have sought anything against the safety of the princes or concerning their welfare. It constitutes a crime of this nature to wish to repeal the laws, to spy into unlawful things, to reveal secrets, or to attempt things forbidden, to seek

the end of another's welfare, or to promise the hope of another's ruin.

[§ 2] If any one, by placing incense, venerates either images made by mortal labour, or those which are enduring, or if any one in ridiculous fashion forthwith venerates what he has represented, either by a tree encircled with garlands or an altar of cut turfs (though the advantage of such service is small, the injury to religion is complete), let him, as guilty of sacrilege, be punished by the loss of that house or possession in which he worshipped according to the heathen superstition. For all places which shall smoke with incense, if they shall be proved to belong to those who burn incense, shall be confiscated.

[§ 3] But if, in temples or public sanctuaries or buildings and fields belonging to another, any one should venture this sort of sacrifice, if it shall appear that the acts were performed without the knowledge of the owner, let him be compelled to pay a fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, and let the same penalty apply to those who connive at this crime as well as those who sacrifice.

[§ 4] We will also that this command be observed by judges, defensors, and curials of each and every city, to the effect that those things noted by them be reported to the court, and by the acts charged be punished. But if they believe anything to be overlooked by favour or allowed to pass through negligence, they will lie under a judicial warning. And when they have been warned, if by any negligence they fail to punish, they will be fined thirty pounds of gold, and the members of their court are to be subjected to a like punishment.—J. C. Ayers, *A Source-Book for Ancient Church History*, 346-8.

No. 99.—The Rescript of Valentinian II., 383-†92, for the rebuilding of St. Paul-without-the-walls

From his letter [386] to Sallustius, Prefect of the City (*Cod. Avell.* iii.; *C.S.E.L.* XXXV. i. 46 *sq.*).

[§ 1] Whereas We, upon consideration of the venerable and sacred antiquity of the basilica of Paul the Apostle, desire for the honour of religion to beautify it, for the numbers there assembling to enlarge it, and out of zeal and

piety to support it, now, therefore, We are greatly pleased by the dutifulness of your Sublimity which you devoted to looking into everything as the occasion demanded and, in well-considered and suitable language, to reporting to our Serenity on the site as a whole and its general aspect. It is only right and proper that We should be well informed before giving such commands as have to be given.

[§ 2] Wherefore after taking counsel with the venerable bishop, and informing all, whether of the honourable clergy or of the people, concerning our commands, your Sublimity may now go into the matter more carefully and fully. If the people and the senate agree to repair the old road, which passes behind the basilica and keeps close to the bank of the river Tiber, so that the present road may be thrown in to the space required for the future work, let the architects prepare such a plan of the future basilica as can be accommodated on the level surface available for the building, so that no unevenness of the ground obscure the imposing appearance of a large edifice. In every structure, the finest effect is attained when it has to be secured by the grouping of great buildings as it first catches the eye, in accordance with the designer's plan.

[§ 3]. Further, the business demands that a schedule be presented after careful enquiry into the work to be done; and that estimates of the cost, according to the prices of materials in our Imperial City, be fully prepared and submitted to our Clemency with all due expedition; so that the general consent of all may be confirmed by the assent of our Serenity, and that which our pious intention has resolved may be the more easily accomplished as befits so great a religion. May the Divinity preserve thee for many years, most dear and well-beloved, Cousin.—K.

No. 100.—The Canons of the Council of Hippo, 393

From Mansi, iii. 916–30.

First Series.

1. All African provinces shall be guided by the Church of Carthage with regard to the feast of Easter, concerning which an error has arisen.

2. . . . No one shall assume rights over another diocese.

3. Mauretania Sitifensis may have a Primate of its own.

4. As the bishops of the first Sees agree, the Primates of the other provinces also shall, if disputes arise, be appointed in accordance with the advice of the Bishop of Carthage.

Second Series.

4. The Eucharist shall not be given to dead bodies, nor baptism conferred upon them.

5. Every year a Council shall take place, to which all ecclesiastical provinces shall send their deputies. But from Tripolis only one need come, on account of the poverty of its bishops.

6. A bishop must be accused before the Primate of the province; and he may not be suspended without further proceedings unless, having been summoned by the Primate, he has not appeared within a month.

7. But if the accused will not appear at the annual *Concilium Universale* (the African General Council), he is excommunicated, and may not communicate even in his own diocese. . . .

8. If a priest is accused, the bishop, with five neighbouring colleagues shall investigate the matter; but if it concerns a deacon, with two colleagues. Accusations against others the bishop alone investigates and decides.

18. When the Readers have attained the age of puberty, they must either marry or make a vow of continence.

20. No one may be ordained who has not been approved, either by examination or by the testimony of the people.

21. In prayer, no one shall address the Son instead of the Father, or the Father instead of the Son; except at the altar, when prayer shall always be addressed to the Father. No one shall make use of strange forms of prayer without having first consulted well-instructed brethren.

22. No cleric shall receive back more than he has lent.

27. Bishops may not travel across the sea (to Europe) without the consent of the bishop of the *prima sedes*, from whom they must also have the *litteræ formatæ*.

28. The sacrament of the altar shall always be celebrated fasting except on the anniversary of its institution, *Cœna Domini*.

29. Bishops and clergy shall have no meals in the church, unless when necessary for the refreshment of guests, and then none of the people shall be admitted.

30. The time of penance shall be appointed by the bishop in proportion to the greatness of the sin. Priests may not absolve (reconcile) any penitents without the consent of the bishop, unless the bishop is absent, and it is a case of necessity. If an offence is publicly known, the penitent shall receive the imposition of hands before the apsis.

33. Actors and apostates who return to the faith shall not be refused reconciliation.

36. Besides the canonical Scriptures, nothing shall be read in the church under the title of "divine writings." The canonical books are Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two books of Paralipomena, Job, the Psalms of David, the five books of Solomon, the twelve books of the (Minor) Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Tobias Judith, Esther, two books of Esdras, two books of the Maccabees. The books of the New Testament are:—the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, one Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, two Epistles of St. Peter, three Epistles of St. John, the Epistle of St. James, the Epistle of St. Jude, the Revelation of St. John. Concerning the confirmation of this canon, the transmarine Church shall be consulted. On the anniversaries of martyrs, their Acts shall also be read.

37. The old rule of the Councils, that no Donatist ecclesiastic shall be received into the Church otherwise than among the laity remains in force, except as regards those who have never rebaptized, or those who desire to join the Church with their congregations (*i.e.* such shall retain their clerical office). But the transmarine Church shall be consulted on this point.—C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 396–400.

No. 101.—Julian's Edict of Restitution, March 13, 362.

From Libanius [314–†395], *Orat.* xviii. § 126 (*Op.* 564: ed. R. Foerster, ii. 289 *sq.*; Teubner, 1904).

[§ 126] But, in the first place, as I have observed, he brought piety, like a fugitive, home again; erecting some temples, restoring others, into others introducing seats. Fines were paid by such as had used the materials of temples for building their own houses; and one might behold columns carried back, some in ships, others on wagons, to the plundered gods; and in all quarters were to be seen altars, and fire, and blood, and burning fat, and smoke, and ceremonies, and diviners released from fear; and on the tops of mountains were pipings, and processions, and the ox that sufficed at once for the worship of the gods and the banquet of men —C. W. King, *Julian the Emperor*, 160 *sq.*

No. 102.—The Women of the Christians

From Libanius, 314–†95, *Ep.* MLVII. (*Op.* 501: Amstelodami, 1738).

I should like to have you showing zeal for the gods and trying to bring men to worship them; and yet not surprised if among those who have lately come to take part in sacrifice, some one thinks what he did rather dreadful and approves once more of refusing to sacrifice. When men are out of doors, they listen to your plea for the only right course, and they come to the altars. But when a man gets home, his wife and her tears and the night plead otherwise, and draw him away from the altars.—K.

No. 103.—Pilgrimages to the Holy Places

From Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, 372–†95, *Ep.* ii. (*P.G.* xlvi. 1009–16).

. . . The Holy Life is open to all, men and women alike. Of that Contemplative Life the peculiar mark is Modesty. But Modesty is preserved in societies that live distinct and separate, so that there should be no meeting and mixing up

of persons of opposite sex; men are not to rush to keep the rules of Modesty in the company of women, nor women to do so in the company of men. But the necessities of a journey are continually apt to reduce this scrupulousness to a very indifferent observance of such rules. . . . And as the inns and hostelries and cities of the East present many examples of licence and of indifference to vice, how will it be possible for one passing through such smoke to escape without smarting eyes? . . .

What advantage, moreover, is reaped by him who reaches those celebrated spots themselves? He cannot imagine that our Lord is living in the body there at the present day, but has gone away from us foreigners; or that the Holy Spirit is in abundance at Jerusalem, but unable to travel as far as us. Whereas, if it is really possible to infer God's presence from visible symbols, one might more justly consider that He dwelt in the Cappadocian nation than in any of the spots outside it. For how many Altars there are there, on which the name of our Lord is glorified! One could hardly count so many in all the rest of the world.

Again, if the Divine grace was more abundant about Jerusalem than elsewhere, sin would not be so much the fashion amongst those that live there; but, as it is, there is no form of uncleanness that is not perpetrated amongst them: rascality, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, quarrelling, murder, are rife; and the last kind of evil is so excessively prevalent, that nowhere in the world are people so ready to kill each other as there; where kinsmen attack each other like wild beasts, and spill each other's blood merely for the sake of lifeless plunder. Well, in a place where such things go on, what proof, I ask, have you of the abundance of Divine grace?—*N. & P.-N.F.* v. 382 *sq.*

No. 104.—Macrina rescues Basil

From Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, 372–†95, *Vita S. Macrinæ* (*Op.* ii. 181 C–D; *P.G.* xlvi. 966 B–C).

When the mother had arranged excellent marriages for the other sisters, such as was best in each case, Macrina's brother, the great Basil, returned after his long period of education, already a practised rhetorician. He was puffed

up beyond measure with the pride of oratory and looked down on the local dignitaries, excelling in his own estimation all the men of leading and position. Nevertheless Macrina took him in hand, and with such speed did she draw him also toward the mark of philosophy that he forsook the glories of this world and despised fame gained by speaking, and deserted it for this busy life where one toils with one's hands. His renunciation of property was complete, lest anything should impede the life of virtue.—W. K. L. Clarke, *St. Gregory of Nyssa's Life of St. Macrina*, 27 *sq.* (S.P.C.K., 1916).

No. 104 A.—The Method of Catechetical Teaching

From Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, 372–†95, *Orat. Cat. Præf.* (*Op.* iii. 43–44 C; *P.G.* xlv. 9–12 C).

Catechetical teaching is necessary for the ministers of the "mystery of godliness,"[1] that the Church may be increased by the addition of those who are being saved,[2] while the "word of faith in accordance with the teaching"[3] is brought within reach of the hearing of unbelievers. Yet the same method of teaching will not be suitable in the case of all who come to hear the word, but as the forms of religion vary, so also the instruction must be adapted to meet them, the same object in teaching being kept in view, but different arguments being used in each case. For he who follows the Jewish religion starts from one set of preconceptions, and he who is born and bred in Hellenism starts from another; while the Anomœan, the Manichæan, and the followers of Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and the rest who are included in the list of those who are astray in heresy, each have their own preconceptions, and make it necessary to combat their opinions; for the character of the malady must determine also the method of treatment to be applied. You will not apply the same remedy to the polytheism of the Greek as you apply to the Jew's disbelief in the Only-begotten God,[4] nor will you in the case of those

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 16. [2] Cp. Acts ii. 47. [3] Titus i. 9.

[4] *μονογενῆ θεόν*. This reading is found in place of "Only-begotten Son" in some important MSS. in John i. 18. The reading is common in both orthodox and Arian writers in the fourth century.

who have gone astray among heresies use the same arguments in each case to overthrow their erroneous fancies concerning the doctrines of religion. For the arguments which might restore to the right path the Sabellian will not help the Anomœan, nor does the controversy with the Manichæan benefit the Jew, but, as we have said, we must look to men's preconceptions, and adapt our discussion to suit the error in which each is involved, propounding in each discussion certain principles and reasonable propositions, in order that by means of what is admitted on both sides the truth may be unfolded in logical sequence.

When then a discussion arises with one who is attached to Greek ways of thinking, it will be well to begin the argument as follows. Does he presuppose the existence of God, or does he agree with the doctrine of the atheists? If he denies the existence of God, then by the signs of skill and wisdom shown in the ordering of the universe he will be led to acknowledge therein the existence of some power manifest in created things and transcending the universe. But if, while not denying the existence of God, he is led astray by his notions to believe in a plurality of gods, let us have recourse, in dealing with him, to some such argument as this. Does he consider the Deity to be perfect or imperfect? If, as he probably will do, he testifies to the perfection of the Divine nature, let us require him to grant that this perfection extends through everything that is observed in the Deity, in order that the Divine being may not be considered to be a mixture of contrary elements, imperfection and perfection. But whether it be in respect of power, or the conception of goodness, or wisdom, incorruption, eternity, and any other thought worthy of God that may happen to be connected with the subject of our enquiry, he will agree, as the logical outcome of this course of reasoning, that perfection is in every case the idea contemplated in the Divine nature.

And when this is admitted, it will be no longer difficult to bring round his thought, which he has dissipated over a plurality of gods, to a single Deity.—J. H. Srawley, *The Catechetical Oration of St. Gregory of Nyssa*, 23–5 (S.P.C.K., 1917).

No. 105.—Arian Disputatiousness

From Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, 372–†95, *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti Oratio* (*Op.* iii. 466 D; *P.G.* xlvi. 557 B).

Why! to-day there are men, like those Athenians, who "spend their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing," men of yesterday and the day before, mere mechanics, off-hand dogmatists in theology, servants too and slaves that have been flogged, runaways from servile work, and are solemn with us and philosophical about things incomprehensible. You know quite well to whom I refer. With such the whole city is full; its smaller gates, forums, squares, thoroughfares; the clothes-vendors, the money-lenders, the victuallers. Ask about pence, and he will discuss the Generate and the Ingenerate. Enquire the price of bread, he answers: Greater is the Father, and the Son is subject. Say that a bath would suit you, and he defines that the Son is made out of nothing!—J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius*,[7] ii. 23 *sq.*

No. 106.—Holy Week at Milan, 385

From Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, 374–†97, *Ep.* xx. (*Op.* II. i. 852–9; *P.L.* xvi. 994–1002).

[§ 1] In nearly all your letters you inquire anxiously about the Church; hear then what is going on. The day after I received the letter in which you told me how you had been troubled in your dreams, a heavy weight of troubles began to assail me. It was not now the Portian Basilica, that is the one without the walls, which was demanded, but the new Basilica, that is, one within the walls, which is larger in size.

[§ 2] In the first place some chief men, counsellors of state, appealed to me to give up the Basilica, and restrain the people from raising any commotion. I replied, as a matter of course, that a Bishop could not give up God's house.

[§ 3] On the following day the people expressed their approval in the Church, and the Præfect also came thither, and began to urge us to yield up at least the Portian

Basilica. The people were clamorous against this, whereupon he departed, saying, that he would report matters to the Emperor.

[§ 4] On the following day, which was the Lord's day, having dismissed the catechumens after the lessons and sermon, I was explaining the Creed to some candidates for Baptism in the Baptistery of the Church. There the news was reported to me that, on learning that officials had been sent from the palace to the Portian Basilica, and were putting up the Imperial hangings, many of the people were proceeding thither. I however continued my ministrations, and began to celebrate the Eucharist.

[§ 5] While I was offering, tidings were brought me that the populace had seized upon one Castulus, whom the Arians called a priest. While making the oblation I began to weep bitterly and to beseech God's aid that no blood might be shed in the Church's quarrel; or if so, that it might be my own, and that not for my people only, but even for the ungodly themselves. But, to be brief, I sent some presbyters and deacons, and rescued the man.

[§ 6] The severest penalties were immediately decreed; first upon the whole body of merchants. And thus, during the sacred period of the last Week, wherein the debtor was wont to be loosed from his bonds, chains are placed on innocent men's necks, and two hundred pounds' weight of gold is demanded within three days. They reply they will willingly give as much, or twice as much again, so that they may not violate their faith. The prisons too were filled with tradesmen.

[§ 7] All the Officials of the palace, the Recorders, the Proctors, the Apparitors of the several Courts, on the pretext of its being unlawful for them to be present at seditious assemblies, were commanded to keep at home, severe threats were held out against men of high rank in case the Basilica was not delivered up. The persecution raged, and had an opening been afforded, they seemed likely to break out into every kind of outrage.

[§ 8] I myself had an interview with the Counts and Tribunes, who urged me to give up the Basilica without delay, declaring that the Emperor was acting on his rights, inasmuch as he had supreme power over all things. I

replied that if he required of me what was my own, my estate, my money, or the like, I would not refuse it, although all my property really belonged to the poor, but that sacred things were not subject to the power of the Emperor. "If my patrimony be required," I said, "take it; if my person, here it is. Will you drag me away to prison, or to death? I will go with pleasure. I will not entrench myself by gathering a multitude round me, I will not lay hold of the Altar and beg for my life; rather will I offer myself to death for the Altar."

[§ 9] In fact my mind was shaken with fear when I found that armed men had been sent to occupy the Basilica. I was seized with dread lest in protecting the Church, blood might be shed which would tend to bring destruction on the whole city. I prayed that if so great a city or even all Italy were to perish I might not survive. I shrank from the odium of shedding blood, and I offered my own throat to the knife. Some officers of the Goths were present; I addressed them, saying, "Is it for this that you have become citizens of Rome, to show yourselves disturbers of the public peace? Whither will you go, if everything here is destroyed?"

[§ 10] I was called upon to calm the people. I replied that it was in my power not to excite them, that it was in God's Hand to pacify them. That if I was considered the instigator, I ought to be punished, that I ought to be banished into whatever desert places of the earth they chose. Having said this, they departed, and I spent the whole day in the old Church. Thence I returned home to sleep; that if any man wished to arrest me, he might find me prepared.

[§ 11] When, before dawn, I passed out over the threshold, I found the Basilica surrounded and occupied by soldiers. And it was said that they had intimated to the Emperor that he was at liberty to go to Church if he wished it, that they would be ready to attend him if he were going to the assembly of the Catholics; otherwise that they would go to the assembly which Ambrose had convened.

[§ 12] Not a single Arian dared come out, for there were none among the citizens, only a few of the royal household, and some of the Goths, who, as of old they made their

wagon their home, so now make the Church their wagon. Wherever that woman goes, she carries with her all those of her own communion. The groans of the people gave me notice that the Basilica was surrounded; but while the lessons are being read word is brought me that the New Basilica also is full of people, that the crowd seemed greater than when all were at liberty, that they were calling for a Reader. To be brief, the soldiers themselves, who were found to have occupied the Basilica, being informed of my directions that the people should abstain from communion with them, began to come to our assembly. At the sight of them the minds of the women are agitated, one of them rushes forth. But the soldiers themselves exclaimed that they had come to pray, not to fight. The people raised a cry. In the most modest, most resolute, most faithful manner they entreated that I would go to that Basilica. In that Basilica also the people were reported to desire my presence.

[§ 14] Then I began the following discourse: Ye have heard, my sons, the lesson from the book of Job, which according to the usual service of the season, is now in course. By use the devil knew that this book was to be declared, already all the power of his temptations is laid open and betrayed, and therefore he exerted himself to-day with greater violence. But thanks be to our God Who hath so confirmed you in faith and patience. I went up into the pulpit to admire Job, I found I had all of you to admire as Jobs. Job lives again in each of you, in each the patience and virtue of that saint is reflected. For what more opportune could be said by Christian men than that which the Holy Spirit hath spoken in you this day? "We petition your Majesty, we use no force, we feel no fear, but we petition." This is what becomes Christians, to desire peace and quiet fear, and still not to let the steadfastness of faith and truth be shaken even by peril of death. For the Lord is our Guide, *Who will save those who hope in Him.*

[§ 15] But let us come to the lessons set before us. Ye see that power of temptation is given to the devil to prove the good. The wicked one envies our progress in good, he tempts us in various ways. He tempted holy Job in his

patrimony, he tempted him in his sons, he tempted him by bodily pains. The stronger is tempted in his own person, the weaker in that of others. Me too he would fain have despoiled of the riches which I possess in you, and he desired to waste this patrimony of your tranquillity. Yourselves also he desired to snatch from me, my good children for whom I daily offer sacrifice; you he endeavoured to involve in the ruins of the public confusion. Already then I have incurred two kinds of temptation. And perhaps the Lord, knowing my weakness, hath not yet given him power over my body: though I myself desire it, though I offer it, He perhaps still judges me unequal to this contest, and exercises me by diverse labours. Even Job himself did not begin with this contest, but was perfected by it.

[§ 16] But Job was tempted by the accumulated tidings of evil, he was tempted by his wife who said, *Curse God, and die.* Ye behold how many things are suddenly stirred up against us, the Goths, the troops, the heathen, the fine of the tradesmen, the punishment of the saints. Ye observe what is commanded, when it is said, "Deliver up the Basilica"; *Curse God, and die.* But here it is not only "Speak against God," but also "Act against God." The command is, "Betray the altars of God."

[§ 17] So then we are pressed by the Imperial mandates, but we are strengthened by the words of Scripture, which answered, *Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh.* Not slight therefore is that temptation, for temptations which come through the agency of women we know to be more severe. Lastly, Adam also was betrayed by Eve, and thereby it came to pass that he betrayed the Divine commandments. Becoming aware of this error, and his guilty conscience accusing him, he desired to hide himself, but could not; wherefore God says to him, *Adam where art thou?* that is, what wert thou before? where hast thou now begun to be? where did I place thee? whither hast thou fallen? thou ownest thyself naked, because thou hast lost the garments of a good faith. The things wherewith thou desirest to clothe thyself are leaves. Thou hast cast aside the fruit, thou desirest to lie hid under the leaves of the tree, but thou art betrayed. For one woman's sake thou hast chosen to depart from thy God, therefore thou

fliest from Him when thou soughtest to see. Thou hast chosen to hide thyself with one woman, to leave the mirror of the world, the abode of Paradise, the Grace of Christ.

[§ 18] Why need I add that Elijah also was cruelly persecuted by Jezebel? that Herodias caused John the Baptist to be put to death? Each man seems to suffer from this or that woman; for me, in proportion as my merits are less, my trials are heavier. My strength is weaker, but I have more danger. Women succeed each other, their hatreds are interchanged, their falsehoods are varied, the elders are gathered together, the plea of wrong to the Emperor is put forward. What explanation is there then of such grievous temptation to such a worm as I am, but that it is not me but the Church that they persecute?

[§ 19] At length came the command, "Deliver up the Basilica"; I reply, "It is not lawful for us to deliver it up, nor for your Majesty to receive it. By no law can you violate the house of a private man, and do you think that the house of God may be taken away? It is asserted that all things are lawful to the Emperor, that all things are his. But do not burden your conscience with the thought that you have any right as Emperor over sacred things. Exalt not yourself, but if you would reign the longer, be subject to God. It is written, *God's to God and Cæsar's to Cæsar.* The palace is the Emperor's, the Churches are the Bishop's. To you is committed jurisdiction over public, not over sacred buildings." Again the Emperor is said to have issued his command, "I also ought to have one Basilica"; I answered "*It is not lawful for thee to have her.* What hast thou to do with an adulteress who is not bound with Christ in lawful wedlock?"

[§ 20] While I was engaged with this subject, it was reported to me that the Imperial hangings were taken down, the Church filled with people, and that my presence was required; straightway I turned my discourse to this, saying, How deep and profound are the oracles of the Holy Spirit! Remember, brethren, what was read at matins and how we responded with deep grief of mind, *O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance.* And truly the heathen came, nay, even more than the heathen, for the Goths came and men of divers nations, they came armed with weapons, and

surrounded and seized the Basilica. Ignorant of Thy Greatness we grieved for this, but our ignorance was mistaken.

[§ 21] The heathen came, but truly *into Thine inheritance* they came, for they who came as heathen were made Christians. They who came to invade Thine inheritance, were made coheirs of God; those whom I accounted enemies are become my defenders; I have as comrades those whom I esteemed adversaries. Thus has that been fulfilled which the prophet David spake of the Lord Jesus, that *His Dwelling is in peace, there brake He the horns of the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle.* For whose office, whose work is this but Thine, Lord Jesus? Thou sawest armed men coming to Thy temple, on the one hand the people groaning and collecting in a crowd that they might not seem to give up the Basilica, on the other hand the soldiers commanded to use force. Death was before my eyes, lest in the midst of all this madness should break out into licence. But thou, O Lord, plantedst Thyself in the midst, and madest the twain one. Thou restrainedst the soldiers, saying, If ye run to arms, if they who are within My temple are disturbed, *What profit is there in My blood?* All thanks therefore be to Thee, O Christ. It was not an enemy, not a messenger but *Thou, O Lord, hast delivered Thy people, Thou hast put off my sackcloth and girded me with gladness.*

[§ 22] Thus I spoke, wondering that the Emperor's mind could be softened by the zeal of the soldiers, by the entreaties of the Counts, by the prayers of the people. Meanwhile I am informed that a Secretary was come with the mandate. I retired a little, and he notified to me the mandate. "What has been your design," says he, "in acting against the Emperor's orders?" I replied, "What has been ordered I know not, nor am I aware what is alleged to have been wrongly done." He says, "Why have you sent presbyters to the Basilica? If you are a tyrant I would fain know it, that I may know how to arm myself against you." I replied by saying that I had done nothing which assumed too much for the Church, but when I heard it was filled with soldiers, I only uttered deeper groans, and though many exhorted me to proceed thither, I replied, "I cannot

give up the Basilica, yet I must not fight." That afterwards, when I was told that the Imperial hangings were removed, and that the people required me to go thither, I had directed the presbyters to do so, but that I was unwilling to go myself, saying, "I trust in Christ that the Emperor himself will espouse our cause."

[§ 23] If this seems like domineering, I grant indeed that I have arms, but only in the name of Christ; I have the power of offering up my body. Why, I asked, did he delay to strike if he considered my power unlawful? By ancient right Priests have conferred sovereignty, never assumed it, and it is a common saying that Emperors have coveted the Priesthood more often than Priests sovereignty. Christ fled that He might not be made a king. We have a power of our own. The power of a Priest is his weakness; *When I am weak*, it is said, *then am I strong*. But let him against whom God has raised up no adversary beware lest he raise up a tyrant for himself. Maximus did not say that I domineered over Valentinian, though he complains that my embassage prevented his passing over into Italy. I added, that priests were never usurpers, but that they had often suffered from usurpers.

[§ 24] The whole of that day was passed in this affliction; meanwhile the boys tore in derision the Imperial hangings. I could not return home, because the Church was surrounded by a guard of soldiers. We recited the Psalms with our brethren in the little Basilica belonging to the Church.

[§ 25] On the following day, the book of Jonah was read in due course, after which, I began this discourse; We have read a book, my brethren, wherein it is foretold that sinners shall return again to repentance. They are accepted on this footing, that their present state is considered an earnest of the future. I added that this just man was even willing to incur blame, rather than behold or denounce destruction on the city; and, since that prophecy was mournful, that he was also grieved because the gourd had withered; that God had said to the prophet, *Art thou greatly angry for the gourd?* and Jonah had answered, *I am greatly angry*. Then the Lord said, if the withering of the gourd was a grief to him, how much more ought he to care for the salvation of

so many souls; and therefore that He had suspended the destruction which had been prepared for the whole city.

[§ 26] Immediate tidings are brought to me that the Emperor had commanded the soldiers to retire from the Church; and that the fine which had been imposed on the merchants on their condemnation should be restored. What joy then prevailed among the whole people, what applause, what congratulations! Now it was the day whereon the Lord delivered Himself up for us, the day whereon there is a relaxation of penance in the Church. The soldiers eagerly brought the tidings, running in to the altars, and giving the kiss, the emblem of peace. Then I perceived that God had smitten *the worm which came when the morning rose*, that the whole city might be preserved.

[§ 27] These are the past events, and would that they were terminated, but the excited words of the Emperor show that heavier trials are awaiting us. I am called a tyrant, and even more than tyrant. For when the Counts besought the Emperor to go to the Church, and said that they did so at the request of the soldiers, he replied, "You would deliver me up to chains, if Ambrose bade you." I leave you to judge what awaits us after these words; all shuddered at hearing them, but there are those about him who exasperate him.

[§ 28] Lastly Calligonus the Grand Chamberlain ventured to address himself specially to me. "Do you, while I live, despise Valentinian? I will have your head." I replied, "May God grant you to fulfil your threat: I shall suffer as becomes a Bishop, you will act as befits an eunuch." May God indeed turn them aside from the Church; may all their weapons be directed against me, may they satiate their thirst in my blood!—*L.F.* xlv. 128-37.

No. 107.—Ambrose on his Hymns, March 29, 386

From Ambrose, *Sermo c. Auxentium* § 34 (*Op.* II. i. 873; *P.L.* xvi. 1017 *sq.*).

[§ 34] Moreover they assert that the people have been beguiled by the strains of my hymns. I deny not this either. It is a lofty strain, than which nothing is more powerful. For what can be more powerful than the

confession of the Trinity, which is daily celebrated by the mouth of the whole people? All zealously desire to make profession of their faith, they know how to confess in verse the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Thus all are become teachers who were scarcely able to be disciples.—*L.F.* xlv. 156.

No. 108.—The Office Hymn for Christmas Eve.

From Ambrose, *Veni, Redemptor gentium* (*Op.* II. i. 1219–24; *P.L.* xvi. 1409–12).

Come, thou Redeemer of the earth,
And manifest thy virgin-birth:
Let every age adoring fall;
Such birth befits the God of all.

Begotten of no human will,
But of the Spirit, thou art still
The Word of God in flesh arrayed,
The promised fruit to man displayed.

The virgin womb that burden gained
With virgin honour all unstained;
The banners there of virtue glow;
God in his temple dwells below.

Forth from his chamber goeth he,
That royal home of purity,
A giant in twofold substance one,
Rejoicing now his course to run.

From God the Father he proceeds,
To God the Father back he speeds;
His course he runs to death and hell,
Returning on God's throne to dwell.

O equal to thy Father, thou!
Gird on thy fleshly mantle now;
The weakness of our mortal state
With deathless might invigorate.

Thy cradle here shall glitter bright,
And darkness breathe a newer light,
Where endless faith shall shine serene,
And twilight never intervene.

All laud to God the Father be,
All praise, eternal Son, to thee:
All glory, as is ever meet,
To God the holy Paraclete. Amen.

The English Hymnal, No. 14.

No. 109.—The Affair of Callinicum, 388

From Ambrose, *Ep.* xli. §§ 26–8 (*Op.* II. i. 962 *sq.*; *P.L.* xvi. 1120 *sq.*).

[§ 26] Seeing therefore, O Emperor, (for I will now not only discourse of you but address myself to you) how severe the Lord's censures are wont to be, you must take care, in proportion as you become more illustrious, to submit so much the more humbly to your Maker. For it is written: When the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into a foreign land, and thou shalt eat the fruits of others, say not, "By my own strength and righteousness I obtained these things," but, "The Lord God gave them to me, Christ in His mercy conferred them on me," and therefore by loving His body, that is, the Church, pour water on His feet and kiss His feet; thus shalt thou not only absolve those who have been taken in sin, but in giving to them peace you will bring them into concord and restore to them rest. Pour ointment on His feet, that the whole house wherein Christ sits at meat may be filled with the odour of thy ointment, and let all who sit at meat with Him rejoice in thy fragrance; that is to say, pay such regard even to the lowest, that in their absolution the Angels may rejoice, as they do over one sinner that repenteth, the Apostles may be glad, the Prophets may exult. For *the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee, nor the head to the feet, I have no need of you.* Since therefore each member is necessary, do thou protect the whole body of the Lord Jesus, that He also of His divine mercy may protect thy kingdom.

[§ 27] On my coming down he says to me, "You have been preaching at me to-day." I replied that in my discourse I had his benefit in view. He then said, "It is true, I did make too harsh a decree concerning the reparation of the synagogue by the Bishop, but this has been rectified.

As for the monks, they commit many crimes." Then Timasius, one of the Generals-in-chief, began to be very vehement against the monks. I replied to him, "With the Emperor I deal as is fitting, because I know that he fears God, but with you, who speak so rudely, I shall deal differently."

[§ 28] After standing for some time, I said to the Emperor, "Enable me to offer for you with a safe conscience, set my mind at rest." The Emperor sat still, and nodded, but did not promise in plain words; then, seeing that I still remained standing, he said that he would amend the order. I said at once that he must quash the whole enquiry, for fear the Count should make it an opportunity for inflicting wrong on the Christians. He promised that it should be done. I said to him, "I act on your promise," and repeated the words again. "Do so," said he Then I went to the altar; but I would not have gone, if he had not given me his distinct promise. And indeed so great was the grace attending the oblation, that I myself was sensible that this favour he had granted was very acceptable to our God, and that the divine Presence had not been withheld. Then all was done as I wished.—*L.F.* xlv. *sq.*

No. 110.—The Massacre at Thessalonica, 390

From Ambrose, *Ep.* li. §§ 4, 12, 13 (*Op.* II. i. 998–1000; *P.L.* xvi. 1161–3).

[§ 4] Suffer me, gracious Emperor. You have a zeal for the faith, I own it, you have the fear of God, I confess it; but you have a vehemence of temper, which if soothed may readily be changed into compassion, but if inflamed becomes so violent that you can scarcely restrain it. If no one will allay it, let no one at least inflame it. To yourself I would willingly trust, for you are wont to exercise self-control, and by your love of mercy to conquer this violence of your nature.

[§ 12] I advise, I entreat, I exhort, I admonish; for I am grieved that you who were an example of singular piety, who stood so high for clemency, who would not suffer even single offenders to be put in jeopardy, should not mourn over the death of so many innocent persons. Successful

as you have been in battle, and great in other respects, yet mercy was ever the crown of your actions. The devil has envied you your chief excellence: overcome him, while you still have the means. Add not sin to sin by acting in a manner which has injured so many.

[§ 13] For my part, debtor as I am to your clemency in all other things; grateful as I must ever be for this clemency, which I have found superior to that of many Emperors and equalled only by one, though I have no ground for charging you with contumacy, I have still reason for apprehension: if you purpose being present, I dare not offer the Sacrifice. That which may not be done when the blood of one innocent person has been shed, may it be done where many have been slain? I trow not.—*L.F.* xlv. 325, 328.

No. 111.—Ambrose's Criticism of Apollinarianism, 390

From Ambrose, *Ep.* xlviii. § 5 (*Op.* II. i. 991; *P.L.* xvi. 1153 A, B).

[§ 5] Wherefore as against Photinus this is our sentence, and as against Apollinaris it is also a proper safeguard; our confession, namely, that as in the form of God He lacked nothing of the Divine nature and fullness, so in that human form there was nothing wanting in Him so as to cause Him to be judged imperfect as Man; for He came in order to save man altogether. Truly it would not have been fitting that He Who had accomplished a perfect work in others should suffer it to be imperfect in Himself; for if aught was wanting to Him as Man, then He did not redeem the whole man, and if He did not redeem the whole man, He deceived us, for He said that He had come in order to save the whole man. But since it is *impossible for God to lie*, He deceived us not; wherefore, seeing that He came to redeem and save the whole man, He took upon Him the whole of that which belonged to human perfection.—*L.F.* xlv. 316.

No. 112.—The Election and Consecration of a Bishop, 396

From Ambrose, *Ep.* lxiii. §§ 1–3 (*Op.* II. i. 1022 *sq.*; *P.L.* xvi. 1188 *sq.*).

[§ 1] I am overcome by grief that the Church of the Lord, which is among you, has still no Bishop, and alone in all the regions of Liguria and Æmilia, of Venetia, and the adjacent parts of Italy, stands in need of those ministrations which other Churches were wont to ask at her hands, and, what causes me still more shame, the contention which causes this delay is ascribed to me. For as long as there are dissensions among you, how can either we determine anything, or you make your election, or any man accept the election, so as to undertake among men who are at variance an office difficult to bear the weight of, even among those that agree?

[§ 2] Are you the scholars of a confessor, are you the offspring of those righteous fathers, who as soon as they saw holy Eusebius, though before he was unknown to them, put aside their own countrymen, and forthwith approved of him; and required no more than the sight of him for their approval? Rightly did he who was chosen unanimously by the Church, turn out so eminent a man, rightly was it believed that he whom all demanded was chosen by the judgment of God. It is fitting therefore that you follow the example of your fathers, especially since it behoves you, who have been trained by so holy a Confessor, to be better than your fathers, forasmuch as you have been trained and taught by a better preceptor; and to show forth a visible sign of your moderation and concord, by unanimously agreeing to the choice of a Bishop.

[§ 3] If the Lord has said, *If two of you shall agree as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven: For where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them;* how much less, when many are assembled in the name of the Lord, where all agree together in their petitions, how much less ought we in any wise to doubt that there the Lord Jesus will be present to inspire their will and grant their petition, to preside over the ordination and confer the grace?—*L.F.* xlv. 358–9.

No. 113.—The Union of Monastic and Clerical Life, 396

From Ambrose, *Ep.* lxiii. §§ 66, 71 (*Op.* II. i. 1038; *P.L.* xvi. 1207 A).

[§ 66] But if even in other Churches such deliberation is used in ordination, how much care is required in that of Vercellæ, where two duties seem equally required of the Bishop, monastic severity and ecclesiastical discipline? For Eusebius of blessed memory was the first to bring together in the West these two differing requisites, and though living in the city observed the monastic institute, and with the government of his Church united the sobriety of an ascetic life. Great increase accrues to the grace of the priesthood when young men are thus obliged to practise abstinence and to obey the laws of chastity, and, though living within the city, to renounce its customs and ways.

[§ 71] Now this endurance in holy Eusebius throve under the monastic discipline, and by being accustomed to a stricter rule, he imbibed a power of bearing hardships. For it is certain that in the higher kinds of Christian devotion these two things are the most excellent, the Clerical function and the Monastic rule. The first is trained to be obliging and courteous in its behaviour, the second is accustomed to abstinence and endurance; the one lives as on a theatre, the other in secret; the one is seen, the other hidden. It is the saying of one who was a noble combatant, *We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to Angels.* Worthy truly was he to have Angels as his spectators, when he wrestled that he might attain the prize of Christ, when he contended that he might lead on earth an Angel's life, that he might overcome the wickedness of spirits in heaven, for *he wrestled with spiritual wickedness.* Rightly was the world a spectator of him whom it was called on to imitate. - *L.F.* xlv. 379–81.

No. 114.—The Condemnation of Origen, at Rome, 400

From Anastasius, Bishop of Rome, 398–†401, *ap.* Jerome, *Ep.* xcv. § 2 (*Op.* i 559 ; *P.L.* xxii. 774), to Simplicianus, Bishop of Milan.

[§ 2] Being informed then by a letter of the aforesaid bishop (*sc.* Theophilus, of Alexandria), we inform your Holiness that we in like manner, who are set in the city of Rome in which the prince of the Apostles, the Glorious Peter, first founded the Church and then by his faith strengthened it ; to the end that no man may, contrary to the commandment, read those books which we have mentioned, have condemned the same ; and have, with earnest prayers, urged the strict observance of the precepts which God and Christ have inspired the Evangelists to teach. We have charged men to remember the words of the venerable Apostle Paul, prophetic and full of warning : "If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Holding fast, therefore, this precept, we have intimated that everything written in days gone by by Origen that is contrary to our faith is also rejected and condemned by us.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 186.

No. 115.—The Gloria in Excelsis, (?) *c.* 400

From *Codex Alexandrinus*, of the fifth century (*Facsimile O.T.* iii 569 [1883]).

Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord,*[1] heavenly King, God the Father Almighty ; O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ ; [and O Holy Ghost].

O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.* Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of the Father,*

1 * Omissions ;] additions.

have mercy upon us. For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord,* [Jesus] Christ,* to the glory of God the Father.—Amen. The Prayer Book (corrected by the original).—K.

No. 116.—The *Te Deum, c.* 400

From Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana: Works, ed. A. E. Burn, 83–7.

Te Deum Laudamus.

We praise thee as God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.
All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.
To thee all Angels[1] cry aloud: the Heavens, and all the Powers therein;
To thee Cherubin and Seraphin: continually do cry:—[2]
"Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Sabaoth;
Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty: of thy glory."
The glorious company[3] of the Apostles: praise thee.
The goodly fellowship[4] of the Prophets: praise thee.
The white-robed army[5] of Martyrs: praise thee.
The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee:—
"The Father: of an infinite Majesty;
Thine honourable, true: and only-begotten Son;
Also the Holy Ghost: the Paraclete."

Tu Rex Gloriae, Christe.

Thou art the King of Glory: O Christ.
Thou art the everlasting Son: of the Father.
When thou tookest upon thee [our] human nature to deliver it: thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death: thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.
Thou sittest at the right hand of God: in the Glory of the Father.
We believe that thou shalt come: to be our judge.

[1] + and Archangels [Milan].
[2] + saying [Milan].
[3] chorus.
[4] numerus.
[5] exercitus.

We therefore pray thee, help thy servants: whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.
Make them to be rewarded[1] with thy Saints: in glory everlasting.—(The ordinary version, emended.—K.)

No. 117.—"An Older Form of the Roman Canon of the Mass,"[2] *c.* 400

From Ps.-Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, iv. §§ 21–3, 26–7 (Ambrose, *Op.* II. i. 371 *sq.*; *P.L.* xvi 443–6).

[§ 21] Wilt thou know that it is consecrated by heavenly words? Hear what the words are. The priest speaks. "Make for us," he says, "this oblation approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable, seeing that it is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who the day before he suffered *took bread* in his holy hands, and *looked up to heaven* to thee, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, and *giving thanks*, *he blessed*, *brake*, *and* having broken, delivered it to his apostles and *to his disciples*, *saying*, *Take*, *and eat* ye all of this; for *this is my body*, *which shall be broken for many*.

[§ 22] *Likewise* also *after supper*, the day before he suffered, he *took the cup*, *looked up to heaven* to thee, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, and *giving thanks*, blessed it and delivered it to his apostles and to his disciples, *saying*, *Take*, *and drink ye all of this; for this is my blood*." Observe all those expressions. Those words are the Evangelists' up to *Take*, whether the body or the blood. After that they are the words of Christ; *Take*, *and drink ye all of this; for this is my blood*. And observe them in detail.

[§ 23] *Who the day before he suffered*, he says, *in his holy hands took bread*. Before it is consecrated, it is bread, but when the words of Christ have been added, it is the body of Christ. Therefore hear him saying: *Take and eat ye all of this; for this is my body*. And before the words of Christ it is a cup full of wine and water. When the words of Christ have operated then and there it is made to be the blood of Christ which redeemed the people. Therefore, see in how many ways the word of Christ is mighty to

[1] munerari. [2] Thompson and Srawley, Preface, p. xxxii.

change all things. There the Lord Jesus himself testifies to us that we receive his body and blood. Ought we to doubt of his trustworthiness and testimony?

[§ 26] But that thou mayest know that this is a sacrament, it was prefigured beforehand. Then learn how great is the sacrament. See what he says: *As often as ye do this, so often will ye make a memorial of me until I come again.*

[§ 27] And the priest says: Therefore having in remembrance his most glorious passion and resurrection from the dead and ascension into heaven, we offer to thee this spotless offering, reasonable offering, unbloody offering, this holy bread and cup of eternal life: and we ask and pray that thou wouldst receive this oblation on thy altar on high by the hands of thy angels, as thou didst vouchsafe to receive the presents of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest, Melchizedek offered to thee."—*St. Ambrose*, "*On the Mysteries*": *and the treatise* "*On the Sacraments*," tr. T. Thompson and ed. J. H Srawley, 113-6 (S.P.C.K. 1919).

No. 118.—The Synod of Ashtishat, 365

From Faustus of Byzantium [320-†400], *History of Armenia*, iv. § 4, *ap.* V. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens de l'Armenie*, i. 239 *sq.*

Nerses [I., Catholicus of Armenia, 353-†73] set out on his journey, and arrived in the province of Taron, whither he summoned all the bishops of Armenia. Assembled in the village of Ashtishat, where there stood the principal church, the mother of all the churches, and whither ordinarily the ancients summoned the synodal assemblies, they began to deliberate on the re-establishment of order in the Church and on the unity of the faith. All showed themselves unanimous at the Council in establishing rules that were to be general and obligatory throughout all the monastic orders of Armenia, except in regard to marriage. The holy Pontiff Nerses imposed only one thing on all, viz. the customs of the Apostles, to wit, that all should by their counsel, persuasion and zeal guide the people in the way of good works. Nerses was the first to do what he

required of others. . . . He ordained that the most suitable sites should be chosen for building hospitals for the reception of the sick, the lepers and the paralytics—in a word, for all who were stricken with any malady whatsoever. . . . He bade men respect the laws of marriage; in particular, not to contract marriage with near kinsfolk; to avoid incest, and to have no illicit relations with exceptionally beautiful girls, as was once the practice. . . .

From this time, the churches were revived and enjoyed perfect peace. Everywhere the bishops found themselves surrounded with honour and consideration, throughout the whole extent of Great Armenia. Prosperity in all its amplitude reigned throughout the Church in general; pomp and magnificence adorned the principal churches; the number of clergy increased daily. He multiplied the number of churches in villages and in desert places. One may say the same of the monks.

In all the districts of Armenia, he founded schools, for the Greek and the Syriac tongue.—K.

No. 119.—The Court of Arcadius, 399

From Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, 409–†13, *Oratio de regno*, § 10 (*Op.* i. 14 *sq.*; *P.G.* lxvi. 1076–8).

[§ 10] Nothing has done more harm to the Roman state than the habit of surrounding the person of the king with a theatrical pomp and a sort of divine mystery. Do not be vexed at what I say. The fault is not yours. It is the fault of those who began this evil custom, and have handed it down to posterity as a thing to be proud of. The fear that if you are often seen you will be reduced to the level of mere men makes you state prisoners. You see nothing, you hear nothing which can give you any practical wisdom. Your only pleasures are the most sensual pleasures of the body. Your life is the life of a sea-anemone. The result of this studied seclusion is that you repel the wise and noble, while you admit to your familiarity creatures who are the counterfeits of humanity; creatures with small heads and scanty brains who, with idiotic grins and equally idiotic tears, with the language and gestures of buffoons, help you to kill the time, and to lessen the burden of that

cloud which the unnatural character of your lives brings upon you.—*D.C.B.* iv. 758.

No. 120.—A Country Gentleman is reluctant to be a Bishop, 409

From Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, 409–†13, *Ep.* cv. (*Op.* 246–50; *P.G.* lxvi. 1481–9).

I should be devoid of feeling if I were not deeply grateful to the people of Ptolemais who have thought me worthy of higher honours than I do myself. But what I must consider is not the greatness of the favour conferred, but the possibility of my accepting it. That a mere man should receive almost divine honours is indeed most pleasing, if he is worthy of them; but, if he is far from being so, his acceptance of them gives but a poor hope for the future. This is no new fear, but one I have long felt, the fear lest I should gain honour among men by sinning against God. From my knowledge of myself I feel I am in every respect unworthy of the solemnity of the episcopal office. . . . I now divide my time between amusements and study. When I am engaged in study, especially religious studies, I keep entirely to myself; in my amusements I am thoroughly sociable. But the bishop must be godly, and therefore, like God, have nothing to do with amusements, and a thousand eyes watch to see that he observes this duty. In religious matters, on the other hand, he cannot seclude himself, but must be thoroughly sociable, as he is both a teacher and preacher of the law. Single-handed, he has to do the work of everybody, or bear the blame of everybody. Surely then it needs a man of the strongest character to support such a burden of cares without allowing the mind to be overwhelmed, or the divine particle in the soul to be quenched, when he is distracted by such an infinite variety of employments. . . .

God and the law and the sacred hand of Theophilus gave me my wife. I therefore declare openly to all and testify that I will not separate entirely from her, or visit her secretly like an adulterer. The one course would be contrary to piety, the other to law. I shall wish and pray to have a large number of virtuous children. . . .

You know that philosophy is opposed to the opinions of the vulgar. I shall certainly not admit that the soul is posterior in existence to the body. I cannot assert that the world and all its parts will perish together. The resurrection which is so much talked about, I consider something sacred and ineffable, and I am far from sharing the ideas of the multitude on the subject. . . . For what has the multitude to do with philosophy? The truth of divine mysteries is not a thing to be talked about. But if I am called to the episcopate, I do not think it right to pretend to hold opinions which I do not hold. I call God and man as witnesses to this. Truth is the property of God, before whom I wish to be entirely blameless. Though I am fond of amusements—for from my childhood I have been accused of being mad after arms and horses—still, I will consent to give them up—though I shall regret to see my darling dogs no longer allowed to hunt, and my bows moth-eaten! Still, I will submit to this if it is God's will. And though I hate all cares and troubles, I will endure these petty matters of business, as rendering my appointed service to God, grievous as it will be. But I will have no deceit about dogmas, nor shall there be variance between my thoughts and my tongue. . . . It shall never be said of me that I got myself consecrated without my opinions being known. But let Father Theophilus, dearly beloved by God, decide for me with full knowledge of the circumstances of the case, and let him tell me his opinion clearly. Then he will either leave me in private life to philosophize quietly by myself, or else he will have no opening left for afterwards judging me, and removing me from the episcopal body.—*D.C.B.* iv. 774 *sq.*

No. 121.—Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, excommunicates Andronicus

From Synesius, *Ep.* lviii. (*Op.* 203: *P.G.* lxvi. 1401–4).

. . . Therefore the church of Ptolemais communicates this decree to her sisters throughout the world. Let no temple of God be open to Andronicus and his family, to Thoas and his family. Let every sacred building and precinct be closed against them. The devil has no part in paradise;

if he enters by stealth, he must be driven out. I therefore exhort all men, whether private individuals or rulers, neither to dwell under the same roof nor to sit at the same table with them; especially I exhort the bishops neither to speak to them while living nor to bury them when dead. But if any one despises our church as the church of a small city, and receives those whom she casts out on the ground that it is not necessary to obey such a poor church, let him know that he has divided the church which Christ wishes to be one. Such a person, whether a levite, a presbyter or a bishop, will be treated by us like Andronicus. We will neither take him by the hand, nor eat at the same table with him; far shall it be from us to share the Ineffable Mystery with those who take part with Andronicus and Thoas.—*D.C.B.* iv. 777.

No. 122.—Synesius intercedes for Andronicus

From Synesius, *Ep.* lxxxix. (*Op.* 230 *sq.*; *P.G.* lxvi. 1456), to Theophilus.

Justice has perished among men; formerly Andronicus acted unjustly, now he suffers unjustly. But it is the custom of the Church to lift up the humble, and to humble those that are lifted up. So Andronicus was hated by her for his evil deeds, but now is pitied for the calamities he suffers, beyond her curse; and in his behalf we have even offended those who are now in power. Alas that I shall never be on the side of those who rejoice, but shall always be mourning with those who weep! I have saved him from the hateful judgment-seat; and, in other respects, I have very much lessened his misfortunes. And if your Holiness shall think him deserving of your care, I shall accept this as the clearest proof that he has not been altogether rejected by God.—*D.C.B.* iv. 777.

No. 123.—Actresses tied to their Trade, January 23, 413

From *Cod. Theod.* XV. xvii. 13.

The Emperors Honorius and Theodosius, Augusti, to the most Excellent Diogenianus, Tribune of Pleasures [at Carthage].

Actresses, who have been set free by various enactments, we decree are to be immediately recalled to their proper trade, in order that the usual provision for the pleasures of the people and for holidays be not lacking. Given February 8, at Ravenna, in the consulate of Constantius [414] and January 23 at Carthage in the ninth consulate of Honorius and the fifth of Theodosius [413].—K.

No. 124.—Pope Innocent I., 402–†17, on Penance and Re-marriage after Divorce

From Innocent I., *Ep.* vi. [405] §§ 5, 6, 12 (*P.L.* xx. 498–501).

[§ 5] You [*sc.* Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, 405–†75] have also asked what rule should be observed in the case of those who, after baptism, have given themselves over all their days to the pleasures of incontinence and then, at the very end of their life, demand penance and reconciliation to communion.

[§ 6] In these cases, former rules were harder; later rules have made room for compassion and been more considerate. Former custom held that penance should be allowed; but communion refused. Those were times of frequent persecutions; and so, lest, by granting opportunity of communion, men should be put at their ease about reconciliation and not prevented from lapse, communion was rightly refused: penance, however, was permitted, lest there should be a total refusal. The demands of the times made absolution harder. But since our Lord has given back peace to His churches, and fears are now put aside, it has been decided to give communion to the departing: both on account of the divine compassion, as a *viaticum* for those about to start on their journey, and, also lest we should seem to be following the sharp and harsh rule of the heretic Novatian, who refused to give absolution. Let the last communion then be allowed as well as penance: that men of this sort, even at the last, by permission of the Saviour, be saved from eternal ruin.

[§ 12] You have also asked about those who, after divorce, have married again. It is clear that both parties are adulterers. Those who, while the wife is living, although

their marriage has evidently been dissolved, hasten to another union evidently cannot be other than adulterers: so much so that the women to whom the persons in question have united themselves, have themselves evidently committed adultery, according to that which we read in the Gospels: "Whosoever shall put away his wife and shall marry another, committeth adultery: likewise he that marrieth her when she is put away, committeth adultery." [1] All such then are to be debarred from the communion of the faithful.—K.

No. 125.—Honorius, 395–†423: his Final Prohibition of Paganism in the West, November 15, 408

From *Templorum detrahantur: Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 19.

The allowances of corn are to be withdrawn from the temples, and used to assist army supplies, so as to aid in the maintenance of the Royal troops of the Household.

[§ 1] Images, if any such still stand in temples and shrines, and such as elsewhere have been or are worshipped by pagans, are to be plucked from their seats: though we know this has often been decreed by repeated enactments.

[§ 2] The temple buildings, whether in cities, towns or country, are to be taken over for public purposes. Altars everywhere are to be destroyed; and all temples on Our estates are to be made over, in like manner, to Our use. Owners are to be compelled to destroy them.

[§ 3] It is to be wholly illegal, in such pernicious places, to give banquets or to celebrate games in honour of heathen rites.

[§ 4] We assign to the bishops of the several districts, for the purpose of suppressing these observances, the right to obtain coercive powers. Judges we constrain by a fine of twenty pounds of gold, and their officials by a like amount, if, through their connivance, these requirements should be ignored.—K.

[1] Matt. xix. 9.

No. 126.—At the Conference of Carthage, June 8, 411

From *Gesta Coll. Carth.* iii. § 261 (Optatus, *Op.* 316; *P.L.* xi. 1414).

[§ 261] *Augustine, Bishop of the Catholic Church, said:* I pray, your Excellency,[1] that with your permission, in the interest of the Church, we may delay no longer over unnecessary topics. Would that our brethren, standing over there, had produced this letter before all those dilatory speeches of theirs, so that we might now be dealing with the Church, on which the whole matter turns. Your Grace is aware that in this letter were mentioned two sorts of objections or things to which we ought to make reply: the first taken from the divine Scripture and the language of the holy Law, the second from the accusations of men; and these objections, in the opinion of some, are put forward with more ill-will than truth. To these two objections I will, with God's help, make brief reply; so as not to repay long-windedness, like theirs, with a speech equally long-winded. The question is concerning the Church: whether it was foretold as about to contain to the end bad mixed up [with good], or all good, all holy and spotless in this world, from the first days to the end of the world. Both assertions have divine authority; yet they ought not to be contrary to each other, nor need they, if rightly understood. It was not I who said that "the floor" was the Church, but the Gospel says it; where it is written that He will come "whose fan is in His hand, and He will throughly purge His floor."[2]—K.

No. 127.—The Letter of Pelagius to Demetrias, 414

From Pelagius, *Ep. ad Demetriadem*, § 16 (Aug. *Op.* ii., *app.* 11; *P.L.* xxxiii. 1109 *sq.*

[§ 16] Let us stop here, O virgin, for a moment and think of the precious pearls with which the bride of Christ should be adorned, taking the Apostle's words one by one. "Do all things," he says. Not as if we were bound to

[1] Marcellinus. [2] Matt. iii. 12.

choose just some of the commandments of good at our own inclination, but to fulfil them all, as a whole. Nor as if we were to look down upon some of His precepts as presents of poor and small worth ; but to have regard in everything to the majesty of Him who lays His commands upon us. No commandment of God can be held by us in slight esteem, if we keep our thoughts fixed upon its Author.

"Without murmurings and disputings."[1] We see masters of mean condition and low origin openly looked down upon by bits of servants ; who, in respect of the smallest commands, as often as not resist them to their face. But this is not the case with persons of good birth. The more powerful the master, the more ready the servants to obey ; and the more difficult their commands, the more readily are they listened to. At the command of a king all are so well prepared and so equipped in readiness to obey that they wish to be commanded ; and, not only do they believe themselves good servants if they do what is commanded, but, as if they were good servants for having been commanded ; so, in proportion to the rank of him who gives them their commands, they regard their service as a privilege. In our case, God Himself, that eternal Majesty, that ineffable and inestimable Sovereignty, has sent us the Holy Scriptures, as the crown of His truly adorable precepts ; and, so far from recovering them at once with joy and veneration, and taking the commands of so illustrious a Sovereign for a high privilege (especially as there is no thought of advantage for Him who gives the command, but only of profit for him who obeys it), on the contrary, with hearts full of scorn and slackness, like proud and worthless servants, we shout in God's face and say, "It's hard ! It's difficult ! We can't ! We are but men, encompassed by the frailty of the flesh !" What blind folly ! What rash profanity ! We make the God of knowledge guilty of twofold ignorance : of not knowing what He has made, and of not knowing what He has commanded. As if, in forgetfulness of human frailty, which He made, He had laid upon men commandments which they could not bear ; and at the same time (oh, the shame of it !) we ascribe unrighteousness to the Just one, and

[1] Phil. ii. 14.

cruelty to the Holy One, first by complaining that He has commanded something impossible, and next by thinking that a man will be condemned by Him for things that he could not help; so that (sacrilegious it is even to hint it), God seems to have been seeking not so much our salvation as our punishment. And so the Apostle, knowing that from a God of righteousness and majesty no precept is impossible, would keep us far from the fault of murmuring; which as a rule comes to birth either when what is commanded is unfair, or not worthy of the person of him who gives the command. Why do we shuffle to no purpose, and confront Him who lays His commands upon us with the frailty of our flesh? No one knows better the measure of our strength than He who gave us our strength; and no one has a better understanding of what is within our power than He who endowed us with the very resources of our power. He has not willed to command anything impossible, for He is righteous; and He will not condemn a man for what he could not help, for He is Holy.—K.

No. 128.—Liturgical Directions of Pope Innocent I to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, 416

From Innocent I., *Ep.* xxv. §§ 4, 5, 6 (*P.L.* xx. 553 *sq.*).

[§ 4] You tell me that some ordain that the kiss of Peace should be given to the people, or by the priests to one another, before the consecration of the mysteries;[1] whereas the Peace should properly be announced after all those things which I am not permitted to quote.[2] For it is agreed that by it the people give their assent to all that is done in the mysteries and celebrated in church; and all is declared to be at an end by the seal of the kiss of Peace, in conclusion.

[§ 5] In regard to the recital of the names before the priest makes his prayer and commends by his petition[3] the oblations of those whose names are to be recited, it is unnecessary, as you yourself with your usual judgment recognise, that you should insert a person's name when you

[1] The Canon of the Mass. [2] The Canon.

[3] This *Oratio* = the "secreta" in the Roman Mass and the "Post-nomina" in the Gallican.

have not yet offered His oblation to God, although nothing of course is unknown to Him. †The oblations, therefore, are to be commended first; and only then are the names of those, whose they are, to be proclaimed; so that they may be named in the course of the sacred mysteries[1]—not in the course of those other things which we place before in order to open the way by (our) prayers[2] for the mysteries themselves[3] that are to follow.†

[§ 6] In regard to the Confirmation of children, clearly it ought not to be done by any but the bishop. For, although presbyters are priests of the second order, still they do not possess the highest office of the pontificate. That the pontifical office is proper only to bishops in such sort that they only may confirm or give the Paraclete, the Spirit, is shown not only by the custom of the Church, but by that lesson in the Acts of the Apostles which says that Peter and John were sent to give the Holy Spirit to those who had been baptized. Presbyters, when they baptize either in the absence of the bishop or in his presence, have the right of anointing the baptized with chrism, provided that it has been consecrated by the bishop. They may not, however, sign the forehead with the unction. That is proper only to the bishops when they give the Spirit, the Paraclete. The words, however, I cannot set down; lest I should seem to be not so much answering a question as betraying a secret. —K.; and for what is between ††, as for comment, see *J.T.S.* xx. 215–26.

No. 129.—The African Repudiation of Pope Zosimus, November 417

From Council of Carthage, *ap.* Prosper, *Contra Collatorem*, v. § 3 (*Op.* 320; *P.L.* li. 227 C).

[§ 3] [In that case] the two hundred and fourteen bishops were in error who, in the letter which they prefixed to their decrees, spoke after this fashion to the blessed Zosimus, bishop of the Apostolic See: "We decree that the sentence against Pelagius and Cælestius issued by the venerable Bishop Innocent from the see of the most blessed Apostle

[1] The Canon: perhaps in *Memento vivorum*.
[2] The "secreta," as above.
[3] The Canon.

Peter shall stand good, until they shall openly and explicitly confess that the grace of God by Jesus Christ our Lord helps us not only to know but to do what is right, in every single act ; so that, without it, we could not have, think, say or do anything that pertains to true and holy religion."—K.

No. 130.—Pelagius : his Doctrine of Human Freedom

From his *Pro libero arbitrio, ap.* Augustine (*De gratia Christi* [418], § 5 (*Op.* x. 231 *sq.* ; *P.L.* xliv. 362).

[§ 5] "We classify," says he, "these faculties thus, arranging them into a certain graduated order. We put in the first place *posse*, possibility ; in the second, *velle*, volition ; and in the third, *esse*, or being. The possibility we place in our nature ; the volition in our will ; and the being in the realization by act. The first of these faculties expressed in the term *posse* is especially assigned to God, who has bestowed it on His creature ; the other two, indicated in the terms *velle* and *esse*, must be referred to the human agent, because they flow forth from the fountain of his will. In his willing, therefore, and doing a good work consist's man's praise ; or rather this praise belongs both to the human being and to God, who has bestowed on him the 'possibility' of exercising his actual will and work, and who evermore by the help of His grace assists this very possibility. That a man possesses this possibility of willing and effecting any good work comes from God alone. So that this one faculty may exist even where the other two have no being ; but the converse is not true—that these latter can exist without that former one. It is, therefore, at my own option not to have a good inclination and not to do a good action ; but it is by no means within my power not to have the possibility of good. This possibility is inherent in me whether I will or no ; nor does nature at any time receive in this point an option for itself. Now the meaning of all this will be rendered clearer by an example or two. That we have the possibility of seeing with our eyes is no power of ours ; but it is in our power that we make a good or a bad use of our eyes. So again that I may, by applying a general case in illustration,

embrace all, the fact that we have the possibility of accomplishing every good thing by action, speech and thought comes from Him who has endowed us with this possibility, and also assists it. Accordingly—and this is a point which needs frequent repetition because of your calumniation of us—whenever we say that a man can live without sin, we also give praise to God by our acknowledgment of the possibility which we have received from Him, Who has bestowed such power upon us; and there is here no occasion for praising the human agent, since it is God's matter alone that is, for the moment, treated of: for the question is not about willing, or effecting, but simply and solely about that which may possibly be."—*The Anti-Pelagian Works of St. Augustine*, tr. P. Holmes, ii. 5 *sq.*

No. 131.—Pelagius: his Denial of Original Sin, 418

From his *Pro libero arbitrio*, *ap.* Augustine, *De peccato originali*, § 14 (*Op.* x. 258 F.; *P.L.* xliv. 391).

[§ 14] I see, however, the very great justice of the demand made of me that I would not defer my promised demonstration that he [*sc.* Pelagius] actually entertains the same views as Cælestius. In the first book of his more recent work, written in defence of the freedom of the will (which work he mentions in the letter he despatched to Rome), he says: "Nothing good and nothing evil, on account of which we are deemed either laudable or blameworthy, is born with us, but is done by us: for we are born not fully developed, but with a capacity for either conduct; we are formed naturally without either virtue or vice; and previous to the action of our own proper will, the only thing in man is what God has formed in him." Now you perceive in these words of Pelagius, that therein is contained the dogma of both these men, that infants are born without the contagion of any sin from Adam.—*The Anti-Pelagian Works of St. Augustine*, tr. P. Holmes, ii. 58.

No. 132.—Cælestius: his Denial of Original Sin, and Appeal to Pope Zosimus

From Augustine (*De peccato originali* [418], §§ 5, 6, 26 (*Op.* x. 255, 263 *sq.*; *P.L.* xliv. 388, 397).

[§ 5] But in the book which he published at Rome, and produced in the proceedings before the church there, he so speaks on this question as to show that he really believed that about which he professed to doubt. For these are his words: "That infants, however, ought to be baptized for the remission of sins, according to the rule of the Church universal, and according to the meaning of the Gospel, we readily admit. For the Lord has determined that the kingdom of heaven should only be conferred on baptized persons; and since the resources of nature do not possess it, it must necessarily be conferred by [God's] free grace." . . .

[§ 6] . . . "That infants, however, must be baptized for the remission of sins, was not admitted by us with the view of our seeming to affirm [the doctrine of] original sin,[1] which is very alien from the sentiment of Catholics. But because sin is not born with a man, it is subsequently committed by the man; for it is shown to be a fault, not of nature, but of the human will. It is fitting, indeed, to confess this lest we should seem to make different kinds of baptism: it is, moreover, necessary to lay down this preliminary safeguard, lest by the occasion of this mystery evil should, to the disparagement of the Creator, be said to be conveyed to man by nature,[2] previous to man's having committed it at all." . . .

[§ 26] . . . This accordingly is the language which Cælestius used in the ecclesiastical process at Carthage: "As touching the transmission of original sin," he said, "I have already asserted that I have heard many persons of acknowledged position in the Catholic Church deny it altogether; and on the other hand many affirm it; it may fairly indeed be deemed a matter for inquiry, but not a heresy. I have always maintained that infants require baptism. What else does he want?" . . .

. . . On the same principle, in the book which he sent

[1] "Peccatum ex traduce." [2] "Tradi . . . per naturam."

to Rome, he first explained his belief so far as it suited his pleasure on all the articles of the Creed, from the Trinity of the one Godhead down to the Resurrection of the Dead, as it is to be: on all which points, however, no one had ever questioned him, or been questioned by him. And when his discourse reached the question which was under consideration, he said: "If, indeed, any questions have arisen beyond the compass of the Creed, on which there might be, perhaps, dissension on the part of a great many persons, in no case have I pretended to pronounce a decision on any dogma, as if I possessed a definite authority in the matter myself; but whatever I have derived from the fountain of the prophets and the apostles, I have presented for determination to the sentence of your Apostolic office; so that if any error has crept in among us, human as we are, through our ignorance, it may be corrected by your decision and sentence."—*The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St. Augustine*, tr. P. Holmes, ii. 51 *sq.*, 68.

No. 133.—Honorius, 395-†423: his Condemnation of Pelagius and Cælestius, April 30, 418

From Honorius, *Sacrum Rescriptum* (Aug., *Op.* x. *app.* 105 *sq.*; *P.L.* xlv. 1726 *sq.*).

The Emperors Honorius and Theodosius Augusti, to Palladius, Prætorian Prefect [of Italy].

[§ 1] We are informed by common rumour that, in order to confuse the light of Catholic simplicity which ever shines with pure radiance, a new subtlety has suddenly emerged. Concealed under the misstatements of pseudo-science, it has raged with such controversial madness as to affect the tranquil stability of heavenly faith, by inventing falsehoods of criminal novelty; taking it for a notable mark of cheap popularity to share the opinions of the multitude, and for the merit of singular wisdom to destroy conclusions which have been reached with general approval. Of this false and irreligious system report affirms that Pelagius and Cælestius are the authors. . . . Indeed, the ears of our Clemency have been assailed by recent reports that, as well within our sacred City as in other places, this noxious contagion has been so implanted in the hearts of some as to

break up the path of simple faith and, by dividing men into zealous and asseverative factions, to provide material for incurable dissension; and, further, by stirring new incitement to offence, to assail and shake the peace of the blessed Church, some with doubtful interpretation holding to this, and others to that, persuasion. . . .

[§ 2] Wherefore your illustrious Authority—long life to it!—should take note how that We have by law enacted that Cælestius and Pelagius, the original heads of this execrable doctrine, be expelled from the City; and that if, besides, there are any other adherents of this sacrilegious teaching, in whatever place they may be found, or whenever they put forth any utterance out of the depths of their damnable heresy, they may be seized by any man and brought before a competent judge. Any one, cleric or laic, shall have the power to bring them to trial and without notice to press his suit, whenever he shall find them, leaving the light of common knowledge and bringing in the darkness of new disputation, to wit, against the Apostolic teaching and the clear and infallible light of the Gospel; contending, as they do, by the cunning craftiness of an unlettered sect, and obscuring the light of faith by doubtful disputations against the truth. Such men, wherever they are found holding conference together about this criminal impiety, we order to be seized by all and sundry, taken before a public tribunal and accused by anybody at pleasure, so that proof and conviction of crime may be followed by public pronouncement, and the parties condemned to irrevocable banishment. For the sources of evil ought to be kept clear of public society; and those ought to have no place in common intercourse whom we ought not only to abhor for their evil doings, but to be on our guard against because of the example of their impoisoned temper. Further, it is our pleasure that these edicts be published far and wide, throughout our empire and to the full extent of the world, lest perchance a pretended ignorance of them should afford food for the error: and some one should think himself at liberty to venture upon what he feigned not to know had been condemned by public authority.—Given at Ravenna, April 30 [418], in the twelfth consulate of Honorius, and the eighth of Theodosius, our Lords the Augusti.—K.

No. 134.—The Catholic Doctrine of Sin and Grace, 418

From the Council of Carthage, May 1, 418 (Aug. *Op.* x., *app.* 106 *sq.*; *P.L.* xlv. 1728–30).

In the twelfth consulate of Honorius and the eighth of Theodosius our most glorious Emperors, on May 1, at Carthage, in the *secretarium* of the basilica of Faustus, Aurelius the bishop presiding at a General Council [*sc.* of Africa], it was resolved by all the bishops whose names and subscriptions are appended, assembled in Sacred Synod of the Church of Carthage:—

(1) If any man says that Adam, the first man, was created mortal, so that whether he sinned or not, he would have died, not as the wages of sin, but through the necessity of nature, let him be anathema.

(2) If any man says that new-born children need not be baptized, or that they should indeed be baptized for the remission of sins, but that they have in them no original sin inherited from Adam which must be washed away in the bath of regeneration, so that in their case the formula of baptism "for the remission of sins" must not be taken literally, but figuratively, let him be anathema because, according to Rom. v. 12, the sin of Adam (*in quo omnes peccaverunt*) has passed upon all. . . .

(3) If any man says that in the kingdom of heaven or elsewhere there is a certain middle place where children who die unbaptized live in bliss, whereas without baptism they cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven, that is, into eternal life, let him, etc.

(4) If any man says that the grace of God, by which man is justified through Jesus Christ, is only effectual for the forgiveness of sins already committed, but is of no avail for avoiding sin in the future, let him, etc.

(5) If any man says that this grace only helps us not to sin, in so far that by it we obtain a better insight into the divine commands, and learn what we should desire and avoid, but does not also give us the power gladly to do and to fulfil what we have seen to be good, let him, etc.

(6) If any man says that the grace of justification was given us in order that we might the more easily fulfil that

which we are bound to do by the power of free-will—so that we could, even without grace, only not so easily, fulfil the divine commands, let him, etc.

(7) If any man understands the words of the Apostle: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us," to mean that we must acknowledge ourselves to be sinners only out of humility, not because we are really such, let him, etc.

(8) If any man says that the saints pronounce the words of the Lord's Prayer, "forgive us our trespasses," not for themselves, because for them this petition is unnecessary, but for others, and that therefore it is "forgive us" not "me," let him, etc.

(9) If any man says that the saints only pronounce these words, "forgive us our trespasses," out of humility, not in their literal meaning, let him, etc.—C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 458–60.

No. 135.—The Monk Isidore [318–†403] in Rome, 340

From Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, 400–†20(?), *Historia Lausiaca* [419–20], c. i. (ed. C. Butler, *Texts and Studies*, VI. ii. 15 *sq.*).

[§ 1] The first time that I set foot in the city of the Alexandrians, in the second consulate of the great Emperor Theodosius, who now lives with the angels because of his faith in Christ, I met in the city a wonderful man, distinguished in every respect, both as regards character and knowledge, Isidore the priest, hospitaller of the Church of Alexandria. He was said to have fought successfully his first youthful contests in the desert, and I actually saw his cell in the mountain of Nitria. But when I met him, he was an old man seventy years of age, who lived another fifteen years and then died in peace. [§ 2] Up to the very end of his life he wore no linen except a head-band, never had a bath, nor partook of meat. His slender frame was so well-knit by grace that all who did not know his manner of life expected that he lived in luxury. Time would fail me if I were to tell in detail the virtues of his soul. He was so benevolent and peaceable that even his enemies the

unbelievers themselves reverenced his shadow because of his exceeding kindliness. [§ 3] So great a knowledge had he of the holy scriptures and the divine precepts that even at the very meals of the brethren he would have periods of absent-mindedness and remain silent. And being urged to tell the details of his ecstasy he would say: "I went away in thought on a journey, seized by contemplation." For my part I often knew him weep at table, and when I asked the cause of the tears I heard him say: "I shrink from partaking of irrational food, being myself rational and destined to live in a paradise of delight owing to the power given us by Christ." [§ 4] He became known to all the Senate at Rome and to the wives of the nobles, when he paid his first visit in company with Athanasius the bishop, and on a second occasion with Demetrius the bishop; a man of great wealth and extensive property, he wrote no will when he came to die, and left neither money nor goods to his sisters, who were virgins. But he commended them to Christ, saying: "He that created you will provide for your life, as He has done for me." Now there was with his sisters a community of seventy virgins.

When I visited him as a young man and besought that I might be trained in the solitary life, since I was in the full vigour of my age and needed, not discourse, but bodily hardships, like a good tamer of colts he led me out from the city to the so-called Solitudes five miles away (and handed me over to Dorotheus).—Tr. W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, 47 *sq.* (S.P.C.K., 1918).

No. 136.—Jerome, to Pope Damasus, on the Roman See and on "three Hypostases," 376–7

From Jerome, *Ep.* xv. §§ 1–4 (*Op.* i. 38 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxii. 355 *sq.*).

[§ 1] Since the East, shattered as it is by the long-standing feuds subsisting between its peoples, is bit by bit tearing into shreds the seamless vest of the Lord, "woven from the top throughout" . . . I think it my duty to consult the chair of Peter, and to turn to a church whose faith has been praised by Paul. I appeal for spiritual food to the church whence I have received the garb of Christ. . . .[1]

[1] *sc.* baptism.

[§ 2] Yet, though your greatness terrifies me, your kindness attracts me. From the priest I demand the safe-keeping of the victim, from the shepherd the protection due to the sheep. Away with all that is overweening; let the state of Roman majesty withdraw. My words are spoken to the successor of the fisherman, to the disciple of the Cross. As I follow no leader save Christ, so I communicate with none but your blessedness, that is, with the chair of Peter. For this, I know, is the rock on which the Church is built. This is the house where alone the paschal lamb can be rightly eaten. This is the ark of Noah, and he who is not found in it shall perish when the flood prevails. But since, by reason of my sins, I have betaken myself to this desert [1] which lies between Syria and the uncivilized waste, I cannot, owing to the great distance between us, always ask of your Sanctity the holy thing of the Lord.[2] Consequently, I here follow the Egyptian confessors who share your faith, and anchor my frail craft under the shadow of their great argosies. I know nothing of Vitalis; I reject Meletius; I have nothing to do with Paulinus.[3] He that gathers not with you scatters; he that is not of Christ is of Antichrist.

[§ 3] Just now, I am sorry to say, those Arians, the Campenses, are trying to extort from me, a Roman Christian, their unheard-of formula of "three hypostases."[4] And this, too, after the definition of Nicæa[5] and the decree of Alexandria,[6] in which the West has joined. Where, I should like to know, are the apostles of these doctrines? Where is their Paul, their new doctor of the Gentiles? I ask them what "three hypostases" are supposed to mean. They reply, "three persons subsisting." I rejoin that this is my belief. They are not satisfied with the meaning; they demand the term. Surely some secret venom lurks in the words. "If any man refuse," I cry, "to acknowledge 'three hypostases' in the sense of 'three things hypostatized,' that is, 'three persons subsisting,' let him be

[1] *sc.* of Chalcis, near Antioch. [2] *sc.* the Eucharist.

[3] The Apollinarian, the rightful, and the Eustathian, Bishop of Antioch, respectively.

[4] Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις.

[5] In the anathema, at the end of the Nicene Creed: No. 12.

[6] A D. 362; No. 51.

anathema." Yet, because I do not learn their words, I am counted a heretic. "But if any one, understanding by 'hypostasis,' 'essence,' deny that in the three Persons there is one 'hypostasis,' he has no part in Christ." Because this is my confession, I, like you, am branded with the stigma of Sabellianism.

[§ 4] If you think fit, enact a decree; and then I shall not hesitate to speak of "three hypostases." Order a new creed to supersede the Nicene; and then, whether we are Arians or orthodox, one confession will do for us all. In the whole range of secular learning "hypostasis" never means anything but "essence." And can any one, I ask, be so profane as to speak of "three essences" or "substances" in the Godhead? . . . Let us keep to "one hypostasis," if such be your pleasure, and say nothing of three.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 18 *sq.*

No. 137.—The Council of Ariminum, 359

From Jerome, 346–†420, *Dialogus adversus Luciferianos*, [*c.* 379], §§ 18, 19 (*Op.* ii. 190–1; *P.L.* xxiii. 172).

[§ 18] As regards the term *Usia*, it was not rejected without a show of reason for so doing. "Because it is not found in the Scriptures," they said, "and its novelty is a stumbling-block to many, we have thought it best to dispense with it." The bishops were not anxious about the name, so long as that which it implied was secured. Lastly, at the very time when rumour was rife that there had been some insincerity in the statement of the faith, Valens, Bishop of Mursa, who had drawn it up, in the presence of Taurus the Prætorian Prefect, who attended the Synod by Imperial command, declared that he was not an Arian, and that he utterly abhorred their blasphemies. This, however, had taken place in private, and the prevailing uneasiness was not removed. So on another day, when crowds of bishops and laymen came together in the church at Ariminum, Muzonius, bishop of the province of Byzacena, to whom by reason of seniority the first rank was assigned by all, spoke as follows: "One of our number has been authorized to read to you, reverend fathers, what reports are being spread and have reached us, so that the evil opinions which ought

to grate upon our ears and be banished from our hearts may be condemned with one voice by us all." The whole body of bishops replied, Agreed. And so, when Claudius, bishop of the province of Picenum, at the request of all present, began to read the blasphemies attributed to Valens, Valens denied they were his, and cried aloud, "If any one denies Christ our Lord, the Son of God, begotten of the Father before the worlds, let him be anathema." There was a general chorus of approval, "Let him be anathema." "If any one denies that the Son is like the Father according to the Scriptures, let him be anathema." All replied, "Let him be anathema." "If any one does not say that the Son of God is co-eternal with the Father, let him be anathema" There was again a chorus of approval, "Let him be anathema." "If any one says that the Son of God is a creature, like other creatures, let him be anathema." The answer was the same, "Let him be anathema." "If any one says that the Son was of no existing things yet not of God the Father, let him be anathema." All shouted together, "Let him be anathema." "If any one says, There was a time when the Son was not, let him be anathema." At this point, all the bishops and the whole church together received the words of Valens with clapping of hands and stamping of feet. And if any one thinks we have invented the story, let him examine the public records. At all events, the muniment boxes of the churches are full of it, and the circumstance is fresh in men's memory. Some of those who took part in the Synod are still alive, and the Arians themselves (a fact which may put the truth beyond dispute) do not deny the accuracy of our account. When, therefore, all extolled Valens to the sky, and penitently condemned themselves for having suspected him, the same Claudius, who before had begun to read, said: "There are still a few points which have escaped the notice of my lord and brother Valens; if it seem good to you, let us, in order to remove all scruples, pass a general vote of censure upon them. If any one says that the Son of God was indeed before all worlds but was by no means before all time, so that he puts something before Him, let him be anathema." And many other things which had a suspicious look were condemned by Valens when Claudius recited them. If any

one wishes to learn more about them, he will find the account in the acts of the Synod of Ariminum, the source from which I have myself drawn them.

[§ 19] After these proceedings, the Council was dissolved. All returned in gladness to their own provinces. For the Emperor and all good men had one and the same aim, that the East and [the] West should be knit together by the bond of fellowship. But wickedness does not long lie hid; and the sore that is healed superficially before the bad humour has been worked off breaks out again. Valens and Ursacius and others associated with them in their wickedness, eminent Christian bishops of course, began to wave their palms and to say they had not denied that He was a creature, but that he was like other creatures. At that moment the term *Usia* was abolished: the Nicene Faith stood condemned by acclamation. The whole world groaned, and was astonished to find itself Arian. Some, therefore, remained in their own communion, others began to send letters to those confessors who as adherents of Athanasius, were in exile; several despairingly bewailed the better relations into which they had entered. But a few, true to human nature, defended their mistake as an exhibition of wisdom. The ship of the Apostles was in peril, she was driven by the wind, her sides were beaten with the waves: no hope was now left. But the Lord awoke and bade the tempest cease; the beast[1] died, and there was a calm once again. To speak more plainly, all the bishops who had been banished from their sees, by the clemency of the new Emperor[2] returned to their churches. Then Egypt welcomed the triumphant Athanasius, then Hilary[3] returned from the battle to the embrace of the Church of Gaul; then Eusebius[4] returned, and Italy laid aside her mourning weeds. The bishops who had been caught in the snare at Ariminum and had unwillingly come to be reported of as heretics, began to assemble, while they called the Body of our Lord and all that is holy in the Church to witness that they had not a suspicion of anything faulty in their own faith. We thought, said they, the words

[1] Constantius. [2] Julian.
[3] Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, 350–†68.
[4] Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli, †*c.* 370.

were to be taken in their natural meaning, and we had no suspicion that in the Church of God, the very home of simplicity and sincerity in the confession of truth, one thing could be kept secret in the heart, and another uttered by the lips. We thought too well of bad men, and were deceived. We did not suppose that the bishops of Christ were fighting against Christ. There was much beside which they said with tears, but I pass over it for brevity's sake. They were ready to condemn their former subscription [1] as well as all the blasphemies of the Arians.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 328 *sq.*

No. 138.—Jerome to Pope Damasus, on his Revision of the Latin Bible, 383

From Jerome, *Præf. in IV. Evang.* (*Op.* x.; *P.L.* xxix. 525–8).

You urge me to revise the old Latin version and, as it were, to sit in judgment on the copies of the Scriptures which are now scattered throughout the whole world; and, inasmuch as they differ from one another, you would have me decide which of them agree with the Greek original. The labour is one of love, but at the same time both perilous and presumptuous; for, in judging others, I must be content to be judged by all; and how can I dare to change the language of the world in its hoary old age, and carry it back to the early days of its infancy? Is there a man, learned or unlearned, who will not, when he takes the volume into his hands, and perceives that what he reads does not suit his settled tastes, break out immediately into violent language, and call me a forger and a profane person for having the audacity to add anything to the ancient books, or to make any changes or corrections therein? Now there are two consoling reflections which enable me to bear the odium—in the first place, the command is given by you who are the supreme bishop; and, secondly, even on the showing of those who revile us, readings at variance with the early copies cannot be right. For if we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us *which*; for there are almost as many forms of texts as there

[1] The Creed of Ariminum.

are copies. If, on the other hand, we are to glean the truth from a comparison of many, why not go back to the original Greek and correct the mistakes introduced by inaccurate translators, and the blundering alterations of confident but ignorant critics, and further all that has been inserted or changed by copyists more asleep than awake? . . . I am now speaking of the New Testament. This was undoubtedly composed in Greek, with the exception of the work of Matthew the Apostle, who was the first to commit to writing the Gospel of Christ, and who published his work in Judæa in Hebrew characters. We must confess that as we have it in our language it is marked by discrepancies, and now that the stream is distributed into different channels we must go back to the fountain head. . . . I promise in this short Preface the four Gospels only, which are to be taken in the following order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, as they have been revised by the comparison of Greek manuscripts. Only early ones have been used. But to avoid any great divergences from the Latin which we are accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint; and while I have corrected only such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 487 *sq.*

No. 139.—Sketches of Christian Society, *c.* 384

From Jerome, *Ep.* xxii. §§ 8, 14, 16, 28, 34 (*Op.* i. 93–119: *P.L.* xxii. 399–419).

[§ 8] Now, if such are the temptations of men who, since their bodies are emaciated with fasting, have only evil thoughts to fear, how must it fare with a girl whose surroundings are those of luxury and ease? Surely, to use the Apostle's words, "She is dead while she liveth."[1] Therefore, if experience gives me a right to advise, or clothes my words with credit, I would begin by urging you and warning you, as Christ's spouse, to avoid wine as you would avoid poison. For wine is the first weapon used by demons against the young. Greed does not shake, nor pride puff up, nor ambition infatuate, so much as this.

[1] 1 Tim. v. 6.

Other vices we easily escape, but this enemy is shut up within us, and wherever we go we carry him with us. Wine and youth between them kindle the fire of sensual pleasure. . . .

[§ 14] I blush to speak of it, it is so shocking: yet, though sad, it is true. How comes this plague of the *agapetæ* to be in the Church? Whence come these unwedded wives, these novel concubines, these harlots, so I will call them, though they cling to a single partner? One house holds them and one chamber. They often occupy the same bed, and yet they call us suspicious if we fancy anything amiss. A brother leaves his virgin sister; a virgin, slighting her unmarried brother, seeks a brother in a stranger. Both alike profess to have but one object, to find spiritual consolation from those not of their kin; but their real aim is to indulge in sexual intercourse. It is on such that Solomon in the book of Proverbs heaps his scorn. "Can a man take fire in his bosom," he says, "and his clothes not be burned? Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned?"[1]

[§ 16] Do not court the company of married ladies or visit the houses of the high-born. Do not look too often on the life which you despised, to become a virgin. Women of the world, you know, plume themselves because their husbands are on the bench or in other high positions. And the wife of the Emperor always has an eager throng of visitors at her door. Why do you then wrong your husband? Why do you, God's bride, hasten to visit the wife of a mere man? Learn in this respect a holy pride; know that you are better than they. And not only must you avoid intercourse with those who are puffed up because of their husband's honours, who are hedged in with troops of eunuchs, and who wear robes inwrought with threads of gold. You must also shun those who are widows from necessity and not from choice. Not that they ought to have desired the death of their husbands, but that they have not welcomed the opportunity of continence when it has come. As it is, they only change their garb; their old self-seeking remains unchanged. To see them in their capacious litters, with red cloaks and plump bodies, a row

[1] Prov. vi. 26, 27.

of eunuchs walking in front of them, you would fancy them not to have lost husbands but to be seeking them. Their houses are filled with flatterers and with guests. The very clergy, who ought to inspire them with respect by their teaching and authority, kiss these ladies on the forehead, and putting forth their hands, (so that, if you knew no better, you might suppose them in the act of blessing,) take wages for their visits. They meanwhile, seeing that priests cannot do without them, are lifted up into pride; and, as having had experience of both, they prefer the licence of widowhood to the restraints of marriage; they call themselves chaste livers and nuns. After an immoderate supper they retire to rest to dream of the Apostles.

[§ 28] But I will not speak only of women. Avoid men also when you see them loaded with chains and wearing their hair long like women, contrary to the Apostle's precept,[1] not to speak of beards like those of goats, black cloaks, and bare feet braving the cold. All these things are tokens of the devil. Such an one Rome groaned over some time back in Antimus; and Sophronius is a still more recent instance. Such persons, when they have once gained admission to the houses of the high-born, and have deceived "silly women . . .",[2] feign a sad mien, and pretend to make long fasts while at night they feast in secret. Shame forbids me to say more, for my language might appear more like invective than admonition. There are others—I speak of those of my own order—who seek the presbyterate and the diaconate simply that they may be able to see women with less restraint. Such men think of nothing but their dress; they use perfumes freely—and see that there are no creases in their leather shoes. Their curling hair shows traces of the tongs; their fingers glisten with rings; they walk on tiptoe across a damp road, not to splash their feet. When you see men acting in this way, think of them rather as bridegrooms than as clergymen. Certain persons have devoted the whole of their energies and life to the single object of knowing the names, houses and characters of married ladies. I will here briefly describe the head of the profession, that from the master's likeness you may recognise the disciples. He rises and goes forth with the sun;

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 14.

[2] 2 Tim. iii. 6, 7.

he has the order of his visits duly arranged; he takes the shortest road and, troublesome old man that he is, forces his way almost into the bedchambers of ladies yet asleep. If he sees a pillow that takes his fancy or an elegant table-cover—or, indeed, any article of household furniture—he praises it, looks admiringly at it, takes it into his hand, and, complaining that he has nothing of the kind, begs or rather extorts it from the owner. All the women, in fact, fear to cross the news-carrier of the town. Chastity and fasting are alike distasteful to him. What he likes is a savoury breakfast—say off a plump young crane, such as is commonly called a cheeper. In speech, he is rude and forward, and is always ready to bandy reproaches. Wherever you turn, he is the first man that you see before you. Whatever news is noised abroad, he is either the originator of the rumour or its magnifier. He changes his horses every hour; and they are so sleek that you would take him for a brother of the Thracian king.

[§ 34] As I have mentioned the monks, and know that you like to hear about holy things, lend an ear to me for a few moments. There are in Egypt three classes of monks. First, there are the cœnobites, called in their Gentile language Sauses, or, as we should say, men living in a community. Secondly, there are the anchorites, who live in the desert, each man by himself, and are so called because they have withdrawn from human society. Thirdly, there is the class called Remoboth, a very inferior and little regarded type; though, in my own province, it is the chief if not the only sort. These live together in twos and threes, but seldom in larger numbers, and are bound by no rule, but do exactly as they choose. A portion of their earnings they contribute to a common fund, out of which food is provided for all. In most cases, they reside in cities and strongholds; and, as though it were their workmanship which is holy and not their life, all that they sell is extremely dear. They often quarrel because they are unwilling, while supplying their own food, to be subordinate to others. It is true that they compete with each other in fasting; they make what should be a private concern an occasion for a triumph. In everything they study effect; their sleeves are loose, their boots bulge, their garb is of the

coarsest. They are always sighing, or visiting virgins, or sneering at the clergy; yet, when a holiday comes, they make themselves sick—they eat so much.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 25 *sqq.*

No. 140.—Jerome's Account of his Conversion, 373

From Jerome, *Ep.* xxii. [384] § 30 (*Op.* i. 115; *P.L.* xxii. 416).

[§ 30] Many years ago when, for the kingdom of heaven's sake, I had cut myself off from home, parents, sister, relatives and—harder still—from the dainty food to which I had been accustomed, and when I was on my way to Jerusalem to wage my warfare, I still could not bring myself to forgo the library which I had formed for myself at Rome with great care and toil. And so, miserable man that I was, I would fast only that I might afterwards read Cicero. After many nights spent in vigil, after floods of tears called from my inmost heart, after the recollection of my past sins, I would once more take up Plautus. And when at times I returned to my right mind and began to read the prophets, their style seemed rude and repellent. I failed to see the light with my blinded eyes; but I attributed the fault not to them, but to the sun. While the old serpent was thus making me his plaything, about the middle of Lent a deep-seated fever fell upon my weakened body, and while it destroyed my rest completely—the story seems hardly credible—it so wasted my unhappy frame that scarcely anything was left of me but skin and bone. Meantime, preparations for my funeral went on; my body grew gradually colder, and the warmth of life lingered only in my throbbing breast. Suddenly I was caught up in the spirit and dragged before the judgment-seat of the Judge; and here the light was so bright, and those who stood around were so radiant, that I cast myself upon the ground and did not dare to look up. Asked who and what I was, I replied: "I am a Christian." But He who presided said: "Thou liest, thou art a follower of Cicero, not of Christ. For 'where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.'" Instantly, I became dumb, and amid the strokes of the lash

—for He had ordered me to be scourged—I was tortured more severely still by the fire of conscience, considering with myself that verse: "In the grave who shall give thee thanks?" Yet, for all that, I began to cry and to bewail myself, saying: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord: have mercy upon me." Amid the sound of the scourges this cry still made itself heard. At last the bystanders, falling down before the knees of Him who presided, prayed that He would have pity on my youth, and that He would give me space to repent of my error. He might still, they urged, inflict torture on me, should I ever again read the works of the Gentiles. Under the stress of that awful moment, I should have been ready to make even still larger promises than these. Accordingly I made oath and called upon His name, saying: "Lord, if ever again I possess worldly books, or if ever again I read such, I have denied Thee." Dismissed then, on taking this oath, I returned to the upper world. . . . Thenceforth I read the books of God with a zeal greater than I had previously given to the books of men.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 35 *sq.*

No. 141.—The Roman Psalter [383] and the Gallican Psalter [?387–8]

From Jerome, *Præf. in lib. Ps.* (*Op.* x.; *P.L.* xxix. 117–20).

Long ago, when I was living at Rome, I revised the Psalter and corrected it in a great measure, though but cursorily, in accordance with the Septuagint version. You now find it, Paula and Eustochium, again corrupted through the faults of copyists, and realize the fact that ancient error is more powerful than modern correction; and you therefore urge me, as it were, to cross-plough the land which has already been broken up, and, by means of the transverse furrows, to root out the thorns which are beginning to spring again; it is only right, you say, that rank and noxious growths should be cut down as often as they appear. And so I issue my customary admonition by way of preface both to you, for whom it happens that I am undertaking the labour, and to those persons who desire to have copies such as I describe. Pray see that what I have carefully revised be transcribed with similar painstaking care. Every

reader can observe for himself where there is placed either a horizontal line, or a mark issuing from the centre, that is, either an obelus (÷) or an asterisk (*). And wherever he sees the former, he is to understand that between this mark and the two stops (:) which I have introduced, the Septuagint translation contains superfluous matter. But wherever he sees the asterisk, an addition from the Hebrew books is indicated, which also goes as far as the two stops.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 494.

No. 142.—Jerome's Helmeted Preface, 391

From Jerome, *Præf. de omn. lib. V.T.* (*Op.* ix.; *P.L.* xxviii. 555 *sq.*).

. . . This preface to the Scriptures may serve as a "helmeted" introduction to all the books which we turn from Hebrew into Latin, so that we may be assured that what is not found in our list must be placed amongst the apocryphal writings. Wisdom, therefore, which generally bears the name of Solomon, and the book of Jesus, the son of Sirach, and Judith and Tobias, and the Shepherd are not in the Canon. The first book of Maccabees I have found to be Hebrew; the second is Greek, as can be proved from the very style. Seeing that all this is so, I beseech you, my reader, not to think that my labours are in any sense intended to disparage the old translators. . . . I am not in the least conscious of having deviated from the Hebrew original. . . . I ask you, also, the handmaidens[1] of Christ . . . to confront with the shields of your prayers the mad dogs who bark and rage against me, and go about the city, and think themselves learned if they disparage others.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 490.

No. 143.—Four Propositions of Jovinian, *c.* 390–†405

From Jerome, *Adv. Jovinianum* [? 392], i. § 3 (*Op.* ii. 241; *P.L.* xxiii. 214 B).

[§ 3] . . . He says that "virgins, widows and married women, who have been once passed through the laver of

[1] Paula and Eustochium.

Christ, if they are on a par in other respects, are of equal merit."

He endeavours to show "that they who, with full assurance of faith, have been born again in baptism, cannot be overthrown by the devil."

His third point is, "that there is no difference between abstinence from food and its reception with thanksgiving."

The fourth[1] and last is, "that there is one reward in the kingdom of heaven for all who have kept their baptismal vow."—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 348.

No. 144.—The Avarice of Clergy and Religious, *c.* 370

From Jerome, *Ep.* lii. [394], § 6 (*Op.* i. 261; *P.L.* xxiii. 532).

[§ 6] Shameful to say, idol-priests, play-actors, jockeys, and prostitutes can inherit property: clergymen and monks alone lie under a legal disability, a disability enacted not by persecutors, but by Christian emperors. I do not complain of the law,[2] but I grieve that we have deserved a statute so harsh. Cauterizing is a good thing, no doubt; but how is it that I have a wound which makes me need it? The law is strict and far-seeing, yet even so rapacity goes on unchecked. By a fiction of trusteeship we set the statute at defiance: and, as if Imperial decrees outweigh the mandates of Christ, we fear the laws and despise the Gospels.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 92.

No. 145.—Ill Repute of Places of Pilgrimage

From Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. [395], § 4 (*Op.* i. 321 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxii. 340).

[§ 4] Why, you will say, do I make these remote allusions? To assure you[3] that nothing is lacking to your faith although you have not seen Jerusalem, and that I am none the better for living where I do. . . . I am speaking only to a monk

[1] For a fifth, see No. 87.

[2] *Ecclesiastici*, of July 30, 370 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 20): see No. 40.

[3] Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, 409–†31.

who having been a man of note in the world has laid the price of his possessions at the apostles' feet, to show men that they must trample on their money, and has resolved to live a life of loneliness and seclusion, and always to continue to reject what he has once rejected. Had the scenes of the Passion and of the Resurrection been elsewhere than in a populous city with court and garrison, with prostitutes, play-actors and buffoons, and with the medley of persons usually found in such centres; or had the crowds which thronged it been composed of monks; then a city would be a desirable abode for those who have embraced the monastic life. But, as things are, it would be the height of folly, first to renounce the world, to forswear one's country, to forsake cities, to profess oneself a monk, and then to live among still greater numbers the same kind of life that you would have lived in your own country. Men rush here from all quarters of the world, the city is filled with people of every race, and so great is the throng of men and women, that here you will have to tolerate in its full dimensions an evil from which you desired to flee when you found it partially developed elsewhere.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 120 *sq.*

No. 146.—The False Teaching ascribed to Origen

From Jerome, *Adv. Ioann. Hier.* [396–9], § 7 (*Op.* ii. 48; *P.L.* xxiii. 360).

[§ 7] The questions relate to the passages in [Origen], *On First Principles.*

The first is this: "for as it is unfitting to say that the Son can see the Father, so neither is it meet to think that the Holy Spirit can see the Son."

The second point is the statement that souls are tied up in the body as in a prison; and that, before man was made in paradise, they dwelt amongst rational creatures in the heavens. Wherefore afterwards, to console itself, the soul says in the Psalms, "Before I was humbled, I went wrong,"[1] and "Return, my soul, to thy rest,"[2] and "Lead my soul out of prison"[3]; and similarly elsewhere.

[1] Ps. cxix. 67. [2] Ps. cxvi. 7. [3] Ps. cxlii. 7.

Thirdly, he says that both the devil and demons will some time or other repent, and ultimately reign with the saints.

Fourthly, he interprets the coats of skins, with which Adam and Eve were clothed after their fall and ejection from Paradise, to be human bodies, and we are to suppose, of course, that previously in Paradise they had neither flesh, sinews nor bones.

Fifthly, he most openly denies the resurrection of the flesh and the bodily structure and the distinction of sexes. . . .

Sixthly, he so allegorizes Paradise as to destroy historical truth. . . .

Seventhly, he thinks that the waters which are said in Scripture to be above the heavens are holy and supernal essences, while those which are above the earth and beneath the earth are, on the contrary, demoniacal essences.

The eighth is Origen's cavil that the image and likeness of God in which man was created, was lost, and was no longer in man after he was expelled from Paradise.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 428.

No. 147.—Fabiola †399

From Jerome, *Ep.* lxxvii. §§ 3, 4, 6 (*Op.* i. 458–61; *P.L.* xxii. 691–4).

[§ 3] . . . The laws of Cæsar are different, it is true, from the laws of Christ: Papinianus commands one thing; our own Paul another. Earthly laws give a free reign to the unchastity of men, merely condemning seduction and adultery: lust is allowed to remain unrestrained among brothels and slave-girls, as if the guilt were constituted by the rank of the person assailed and not by the purpose of the assailant. But with us Christians what is unlawful for women is equally unlawful for men; and, as both serve the same God, both are bound by the same obligations. Fabiola then has put away—they are quite right—a husband that was a sinner, guilty of this and that crime, sins—I have almost mentioned their names—with which the whole neighbourhood resounded, but which the wife alone refused to disclose. If, however, it is made a charge against her

that, after repudiating her husband, she did not continue unmarried, I readily admit this to have been a fault, but at the same time declare that it may have been a case of necessity. "It is better," the Apostle tells us, "to marry than to burn." She was quite a young woman, she was not able to continue in widowhood. . . . Fabiola, therefore, was fully persuaded in her own mind: she thought she had acted legitimately in putting away her husband; and that when she had done so she was free to marry again. She did not know that the rigour of the Gospel takes away from women all pretext for re-marriage, so long as their former husbands are alive. . . .

[§ 4] . . . Fabiola came to herself. She put on sackcloth to make public confession of her error. . . . In the presence of all Rome (in the basilica which formerly belonged to that Lateranus who perished by the sword of Cæsar) she stood in the ranks of the penitents, and exposed before bishop, presbyters and people—all of whom wept when they saw her weep—her dishevelled hair, pale features, soiled hands and unwashed neck. What sins would such a penance fail to purge away? . . .

[§ 6] . . . Restored to Communion before the eyes of the whole Church, what did she do? . . . She broke up and sold all that she could lay hands on of her property (it was large and suitable to her rank), and turning it into money she laid out this for the benefit of the poor. She was the first person to found a hospital, into which she might gather sufferers out of the streets, and where she might nurse the unfortunate victims of sickness and want.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 158–60.

No. 148.—The German Invasion of Gaul, 406

From Jerome, *Ep.* cxxiii. [409], § 16 (*Op.* i. 913 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxii. 1057 *sq.*).

[§ 16] . . . Savage tribes in countless numbers have overrun all parts of Gaul. The whole country between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the Rhine and the ocean, has been laid waste by hordes of Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alans, Gepids, Herules, Saxons, Burgundians, Alemanni, and — alas for the commonweal! — even

Pannonians. For "Assur also is joined with them."[1] The once noble city of Moguntiacum (Mayence) has been captured and destroyed. The people of the Vangium (Worms) after standing a long siege have been extirpated. The powerful city of Rheims, the Ambiani,[2] the Altrebatæ,[3] the Belgians on the skirts of the world, Tornacus [Tournay], Nemetæ (Spires) and Argentoratus (Strasbourg), have fallen to Germany; while the provinces of Aquitaine and of the Nine Nations, of Lyons and of Narbonne, are with the exception of a few cities one universal scene of desolation. And those which the sword saves without, famine ravages within. I cannot speak without tears of Toulouse, which has been kept from falling hitherto by the merits of its reverend bishop Exuperius.[4] Even the Spains are on the brink of ruin[5] and tremble daily, as they recall the invasion of the Cymry; and, while others suffer misfortunes once in actual fact, they suffer them continually in anticipation.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 236 *sq.*

No. 149.—Marcella, †410

From Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii. [412], §§ 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 (*Op.* i. 954–60; *P.L.* xxii. 1089–95).

[§ 5] In those days, no high-born lady at Rome had made profession of the monastic life, or had ventured—so strange and ignominious and degrading did it then seem—publicly to call herself a nun. It was from some priests of Alexandria, and from Pope Athanasius, and subsequently from Peter, who, to escape the persecution of the Arian heretics, had all fled for refuge to Rome as the safest haven in which they could find communion—it was from these that Marcella heard of the life of the blessed Antony, then still alive, and of the monasteries in the Thebaid founded by Pachomius, and of the discipline laid down for virgins and for widows. Nor was she ashamed to profess a life which she had thus learned to be pleasing to Christ. Many years after, her example was followed first by Sophronia and then by others. . . . My revered friend Paula was blessed with

[1] Ps. lxxxiii. 8.
[2] Near Amiens.
[3] Near Arras.
[4] Bishop, 405–†15.
[5] The Vandals crossed the Pyrenees September 29, 409.

Marcella's friendship, and it was in Marcella's cell that Eustochium, that paragon of virgins, was gradually trained. Thus it is easy to see of what type the mistress was who found such pupils. . . .

[§ 9] While Marcella was thus serving the Lord in holy tranquillity, there arose in these provinces a tornado of heresy which threw everything into confusion; indeed so great was the fury into which it lashed itself that it spared neither itself nor anything that was good. And as if it were too little to have disturbed everything here, it introduced a ship freighted with blasphemies into the port of Rome itself. The dish soon found itself a cover; and the muddy feet of heretics fouled the clear waters of the faith of Rome. . . . Next came the scandalous version [1] of Origen's book *On First Principles*, and that "fortunate disciple" [2] who would have been indeed fortunate had he never fallen in with such a master. Next followed the confutation set forth by my supporters, which destroyed the case of the Pharisees [3] and threw them into confusion. It was then that the holy Marcella, who had long held back lest she should be thought to act from party motives, threw herself into the breach. Conscious that the faith of Rome—once praised by an Apostle [4]—was now in danger, and that this new heresy was drawing to itself not only priests and monks but also many of the laity, besides imposing on the bishop,[5] who fancied others as guileless as he was himself, she publicly withstood its teachers, choosing to please God rather than men.

[§ 10] . . . The heretics . . . asked for and obtained letters of commendation from the Church,[6] so that it might appear that till the day of their departure they had continued in full communion with it. Shortly afterwards the distinguished Anastasius [7] succeeded to the pontificate; but he was soon taken away, for it was not fitting that the head of the world should be struck off [8] during the episcopate of one

[1] *sc.* by Rufinus.
[2] Macarius, to whom Rufinus dedicated his version.
[3] The Roman clergy, who sided with Rufinus.
[4] Rom. i. 8.
[5] Siricius, 384–†98.
[6] Rufinus from Siricius.
[7] Pope, 399–†401.
[8] Capture of Rome by Alaric, 410.

so great. . . . You will say, What has this to do with the praises of Marcella? I reply, She it was who originated the condemnation of the heretics. She it was who furnished witnesses first taught by them, and then carried away by their heretical teaching. She it was who showed how large a number they had deceived, and who brought up against them the impious books *On First Principles*, books which were passing from hand to hand after being "improved" by the hand of the scorpion.[1] . . .

[§ 11] The whirlwind[2] passed from the West into the East, and threatened in its passage to shipwreck many a noble craft. . . .

[§ 12] Whilst these things were happening in Jebus,[3] a dreadful rumour came from the West. Rome had been besieged,[4] and its citizens had been forced to buy their lives with gold. Then, thus despoiled, they had been besieged again, so as to lose not their substance only but their lives. My voice sticks in my throat; and, as I dictate, sobs choke my utterance. The city which had taken the whole world was itself taken;[5] nay more, famine was beforehand with the sword, and but few citizens were left to be made captives. In their frenzy, the starving people had recourse to hideous food, and tore each other limb from limb that they might have flesh to eat. Even the mother did not spare the infant at her breast. . . .

[§ 13] Meantime, as was natural in a scene of such confusion, one of the bloodstained victors found his way into Marcella's house. . . . When the soldiers entered in, she is said to have received them without any look of alarm; and, when they asked her for gold, she pointed to her coarse dress to show them that she had no buried treasure. However, they would not believe in her self-chosen poverty, but scourged her and beat her with cudgels. . . . The barbarians conveyed both you and her to the basilica of the Apostle Paul, that you might find there either a place of safety, or, if not that, at least a tomb . . .

[§ 14] After a few days, she fell asleep in the Lord.—*N. & P.-N.F.* vi. 254-7.

[1] Rufinus. [2] Origenism. [3] Jerusalem.
[4] By Alaric, 408. [5] By Alaric, 410.

No 150.—Life in a Monastery of Pachomius, *c.* 292–†346

From Jerome, *Præf. in regulam S. Pachomii* ,§§ 5, 6 (*Op.* iii. 55; *P.L.* xxiii. 64).

[§ 5] The sick are attended with wonderful devotion, food being made ready for them in plenty; those in good health practise a stricter abstinence. Twice a week, on the fourth and the sixth day of the week, they fast entirely: except at Easter and Pentecost. On other days, those who wish to do so take their meal after midday: so too at supper the table is laid, for the sake of the sick, the old, the young, and those in high fever. Some eat but little at the second meal; others are satisfied with but one meal, be it luncheon or supper.[1] Not a few just take a bite of bread, and then go out. All take their meals together. If any one does not wish to come to table, he has an allowance, in his cell, of bread and water only, with salt, for one day or two, according as he desires.

[§ 6] Brethren of the same trade are lodged in one house under one provost. For example, weavers are together; mat-makers are reckoned as one household; tailors, carpenters, fullers, shoemakers—each trade is under the several rule of its own provost. And, week by week, an account of their work is rendered to the abbot of the monastery.—K.

No 151.—An Exposition of the Faith, *c.* 420

From the *Quicumque Vult.*

QUICUMQUE VULT

1. WHOSOEVER would be saved: needeth before all things to hold fast the Catholick Faith.
2. Which Faith except a man keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he will perish eternally.

3. Now the Catholick Faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity;
4. Neither confusing the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.

[1] Prandii sive cœnæ, *i.e.* déjeuner and dîner.

5. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son : another of the Holy Ghost ;
6. But the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one : the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal.
7. Such as the Father is, such is the Son : and such is the Holy Ghost ;
8. The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated : the Holy Ghost uncreated ;
9. The Father infinite, the Son infinite : the Holy Ghost infinite ;
10. The Father eternal, the Son eternal : the Holy Ghost eternal ;
11. And yet there are not three eternals : but one eternal ;
12. As also there are not three uncreated, nor three infinites : but one infinite, and one uncreated.
13. So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty : the Holy Ghost almighty ;
14. And yet there are not three almighties : but one almighty.
15. So the Father is God, the Son God : the Holy Ghost God ;
16. And yet there are not three Gods : but one God.
17. So the Father is Lord, the Son Lord : the Holy Ghost Lord.
18. And yet there are not three Lords : but one Lord.
19. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity : to confess each Person by himself to be both God and Lord ;
20. So we are forbidden by the Catholick Religion : to speak of three Gods or three Lords.
21. The Father is made of none : nor created, nor begotten.
22. The Son is of the Father alone : not made, nor created, but begotten.
23. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son : not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.
24. There is therefore one Father, not three Fathers ; one Son, not three Sons : one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.
25. And in this Trinity there is no before or after : no greater or less ;

26. But all three Persons are co-eternal together : and co-equal.
27. So that in all ways, as is aforesaid : both the Trinity is to be worshipped in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity.
28. He therefore that would be saved : let him thus think of the Trinity.

29. FURTHERMORE it is necessary to eternal salvation : that he also believe faithfully the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.
30. Now the right Faith is that we believe and confess : that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and Man.
31. He is God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds : and he is Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world ;
32. Perfect God : perfect Man, of reasoning soul and human flesh subsisting ;
33. Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead : less than the Father as touching his Manhood.
34. Who although he be God and Man : yet he is not two, but is one Christ ;
35. One, however, not by conversion of Godhead into flesh : but by taking of Manhood into God ;
36. One altogether : not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person.
37. For as reasoning soul and flesh is one man : so God and Man is one Christ ;
38. Who suffered for our salvation : descended into hell, rose again from the dead ;
39. Ascended into heaven, sat down at the right hand of the Father : from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
40. At whose coming all men must rise again with their bodies : and shall give account for their own deeds.
41. And they that have done good will go into life eternal : they that have done evil into eternal fire.

42. THIS is the Catholick Faith[9] : which except a man do faithfully and steadfastly believe, he cannot be saved.—

The Athanasian Creed : a revised translation, S.P.C.K., 1918.

No. 152.—St. Martin and the Beggar at Amiens

From Sulpicius Severus [†420 ?], *Vita Martini*, § 3 (*P.L.* xx. 162).

Accordingly, at a certain period, when he had nothing except his arms and his simple military dress, in the middle of winter, a winter which had shown itself more severe than ordinary, so that the extreme cold was proving fatal to many, he happened to meet, at the gate of the city of Amiens, a poor man destitute of clothing. He was entreating those that passed by to have compassion upon him; but all passed the wretched man without notice, when Martin, that man full of God, recognized that a being to whom others showed no pity was, in that respect, left to him. Yet what should he do? He had nothing except the cloak in which he was clad, for he had already parted with the rest of his garments for similar purposes. Taking, therefore, his sword with which he was girt, he divided his cloak into two equal parts, and gave one part to the poor man, while he again clothed himself with the remainder. Upon this, some of the bystanders laughed, because he was now an unsightly object, and stood out as but partly dressed. Many, however, who were of sounder understanding groaned deeply because they themselves had done nothing similar. They especially felt this, because, being possessed of more than Martin, they could have clothed the poor man without reducing themselves to nakedness. In the following night, when Martin had resigned himself to sleep, he had a vision of Christ arrayed in that part of his cloak with which he had clothed the poor man. He contemplated the Lord with the greatest attention, and was told to own as his the robe which he had given. Ere long he heard Jesus saying with a clear voice to the multitude of angels standing round: "Martin, who is still but a catechumen, clothed me with this robe."—*N. & P.-N.F.* xi. 5.

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No. 153.—A Papal Election, *c.* 420

From a letter of Honorius, 395–†423 [dated July 419–20], to Boniface, Bishop of Rome, 418–†22 (*Coll. Avell.* No. 37; *C.S.E.L.* XXXV. i. 83 *sq.*).

Honorius, the Victorious, the Renowned, the Triumphant and Ever August, to the Holy and Venerable Boniface, Pope of the Eternal City.

[§ 1] We have received the letter of your Beatitude with the thanks due to your Reverence, rendering high thanksgiving to Almighty God, since we learn that, after long indisposition, your Holiness has been restored to the health you prayed for. Wherefore, as your venerable messengers are returning, we signify our joy by our attestation of these Sacred Letters, [§ 2] and beseech you that, in your daily prayers, your Apostolicity will deign to expend your care and devotion to the good of our health and empire. Further, we would have you know that our Piety feels assured, since your Holiness is anxious about disturbances among your churches and people, that nothing of the kind can by any means happen. Our Clemency believes that adequate measures have been taken to provide for the situation. [§ 3] Finally, we will that, by announcement of your Holiness, it should be made known to all clerics that, if anything, which we do not desire, should, by any human eventuality, happen to your religion, they are all to understand that they must abandon their intrigues; and if two of them, by the rashness of rival candidates, should by any chance be ordained, neither of them will become bishop; but permanent possession of the Apostolic See will only be accorded to him who shall be chosen from among the body of clerics by a new ordination, after the judgment of God and the assent of all. [4] Wherefore good heed is to be taken that, in accordance with the warning of our Serenity, all maintain a quiet mind and a pacific temper, and none seek to attempt anything by seditious conspiracy; for, if one thing is certain, it is that partisanship will not be to the advantage of either side.—K.

No. 154.—Appeals to Rome, 424

From the Council of Carthage, 424 (Mansi, iii. 839-44).

To the most beloved lord and honourable brother Cælestine,—We could wish that, like as your Holiness intimated to us in your letter sent by our fellow-priest Leo, your pleasure at the arrival of Apiarius, so we also could send to you these writings with pleasure, respecting his clearing of himself. Then, in truth, both our own satisfaction and yours of late would be more reasonable; nor would that lately expressed by you concerning the hearing of him then to come, as well as that already past, seem hasty and inconsiderate. Upon the arrival then of our holy brother and fellow-bishop Faustinus, we assembled a Council and believed that he was sent with that man in order that, as he (Apiarius) had before been restored to the presbyterate by his assistance, so now he might with his exertions be cleared of the very great crimes charged against him by the inhabitants of Tabræa; but the due course of examination in our Council discovered in him such great and monstrous crimes as to overbear even Faustinus, who acted rather as an advocate than a judge, and to prevail against what was more the zeal of a defender than the justice of an enquirer. For first he vehemently opposed the whole assembly, inflicting on us many injuries, under the pretence of asserting the privileges of the Roman Church, and demanding that Apiarius should be received into communion by us on the ground that your Holiness, believing him to have appealed, though unable to prove it, had restored him to communion; but this we by no means allowed, as you will also better see from reading the Acts. After, however, a most laborious enquiry carried on for three days, during which, in the greatest affection, we took cognizance of the various charges against him, God, the just judge, strong and long-suffering, cut short by a sudden stroke both the delays raised by our fellow-bishop Faustinus and the evasions of Apiarius himself, by which he was endeavouring to conceal his foul enormities. For his strong and shameless obstinacy was overcome by which he endeavoured to cover, through an impudent denial, the mire of his lusts; for our God put pressure upon his conscience, and published even to the eyes of men the secret crimes

with which he was charged, and at length convicted himself of his own accord of every kind of infamy beyond belief, and changed to groans even the hope which we had entertained, believing and desiring that he might be cleared from such shameful blots; except, indeed, that it was so far a relief to our sorrows that he had delivered us from the labour of a longer enquiry, and by confession had applied some sort of remedy to his own wounding: though, sir and brother, it was unwilling and done with a struggling conscience.

Premising, therefore, our due regards to you, we earnestly implore you that, for the future, you do not readily admit to a hearing persons coming hence, nor choose to receive to your communion those who have been excommunicated by us, because your Reverence will readily perceive that this has been prescribed by the Nicene decrees. For though this seems to be there forbidden in respect of the inferior clergy or the laity, how much more did it will this to be observed in the case of bishops, lest those who had been suspended from communion in their own province might seem to be restored to communion hastily or unfitly by your Holiness. Let your Holiness reject, as is worthy of you, that unprincipled taking shelter with you of presbyters likewise, and inferior clergy, both because by no ordinance of the Fathers hath the Church of Africa been deprived of this right, and the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed not only the clergy of inferior rank, but the bishops themselves, to their own Metropolitans. For they have ordained with great wisdom and justice that all matters should be terminated where they arise; and they did not think that the grace of the Holy Spirit would be wanting to any Province for the priests [*sc.* bishops] of Christ wisely to discern and firmly to maintain that which is right, especially since whosoever thinks himself wronged by any judgment may appeal to the Council of his Province or even to a General Council [of all Africa], unless it be imagined that God can inspire a single individual with justice and refuse it to an innumerable multitude of priests [*sc.* bishops] assembled in Council. And how shall we be able to rely on a sentence passed beyond the sea, since it will not be possible to send thither the necessary witnesses, whether from weakness of sex or

of advanced age or any other impediment. For that your Holiness should send any on your part we can find ordained by no Council of the Fathers. Because with regard to what you have sent us by our brother-bishop Faustinus, as being contained in the Nicene Council, we can find nothing of the kind in the more authentic copies of that Council, which we have received from the holy Cyril, our brother bishop of the Alexandrine Church, and from the venerable Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople, and which we formerly sent by Innocent the presbyter and Marcellus, the subdeacon, through whom we received them, to Boniface the bishop, your predecessor of venerable memory. For the rest, whosoever desires you to delegate any of your clergy to execute your orders, do not comply, lest it seem that we are introducing the pride of secular dominion into the Church of Christ, which exhibits before those who desire to see God the light of simplicity and the splendour of humility; for now that the miserable Apiarius has been removed out of the Church of Christ for his horrible crimes, we feel confident respecting our brother Faustinus that, through the uprightness and moderation of your holiness, our brotherly charity not being violated, Africa will by no means any longer be forced to endure him! Sir and brother, may our Lord long preserve your Holiness to pray for us.—E. Denny, *Papalism*, 307–9.

No. 155.—The Independence of the Church in Persia, 424

From the Synod of Dadišôʿ, 424, *ap.* J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 285, 302.

Assembly of the Metropolitans and Bishops, which took place at Markabta of the Arabs, in the time of Waran,[1] the king of kings [420–†38].

In the fourth year of Waran, king of kings; in the presence of Mar Dadišôʿ, Catholicus [421–†56], supreme head of the bishops and governor of all Eastern Christendom, there were assembled at Markabta of the Arabs, the bishops [thirty-six in number].

. . . . . .

[1] Bahrâm V.

As for that which has been decreed by the Western Fathers: "That the bishops are not permitted to hold an assembly against the will of their head, nor to prepare in writing heads of accusation or reproach, but that, if they have any complaint to make and obtain no satisfaction at the assembly in presence of the Patriarch, they must appeal to his colleagues, who will decide between him and them, after having examined the affair"; since we have often had experience of the fact that those who complain of the Catholicus were treated as blameworthy; received punishment for their folly by deprivation and deposition; were robbed and spoiled of the title of their order and of the vesture which they wore: Now, by the word of God, we decree that the Easterns will not be permitted to carry complaints against their Patriarch before the Western Patriarchs; and that every cause which cannot be determined in the presence of their Patriarch shall be left to the judgment of Christ.—K.

No. 156.—The Beginnings of Arianism, *c.* 320

From Sozomen [*fl. c.* 425], *H.E.*, I. xv. §§ 1–7.

[§ 1] Although, as we have shown, religion was in a flourishing condition at this period, yet the Church was disturbed by sore contentions; for under the pretext of piety, and of seeking the more perfect knowledge of God, certain questions were agitated which had not, till then, been examined. Arius was the originator of these disputations. He was a presbyter of the Church at Alexandria in Egypt, [§ 2] and was at first a zealous supporter of truth, yet upholding at the same time the innovations of Meletius. Eventually, however, he abandoned these opinions, and was ordained deacon by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, who afterwards cast him out of the Church, because he reprehended the conduct of this prelate in preaching against the Meletians, and in rejecting their baptism. After the martyrdom of Peter, Arius asked forgiveness of Achillas, and was restored to his office as a deacon, and afterwards elevated to the presbyterate. Alexander, also, held him in high repute. [§ 3] He was a most expert logician, but perverted his talents to evil

purposes, and had the audacity to preach what no one before him had ever suggested, namely, that the Son of God was made out of that which had no prior existence; that there was [a period of time] when He existed not; that, as possessing free-will, He was capable of virtue or of vice; and that He was created and made; to these, many other similar assertions were added in support of the argument. [§ 4] Those, who heard these doctrines advanced, blamed Alexander for not opposing opinions which seemed at variance with the faith. But this bishop deemed it more advisable to leave each party to the free discussion of doubtful topics, so that, by persuasion rather than by force, unanimity might be restored; hence he assembled some of his clergy around him, and sat down, as judge, to hear the statements of contending parties. [§ 5] But it happened on this occasion, as is generally the case in a strife of words, that each party claimed the victory. Arius defended the assertions he had advanced against the Son, but the others contended that He was consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father. The Council was convened a second time, and the same points contested; but they came to no agreement among themselves. During the debate, Alexander seemed to incline first to one party and then to the other. [§ 6] Finally, however, he declared himself in favour of those who affirmed that the Son was consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father, and he commanded Arius to receive this doctrine, and to reject his former opinions. Arius, however, would not be persuaded to compliance, and many of the bishops and clergy considered his statements of doctrine to be correct; Alexander therefore ejected him, and the clergy who concurred with him in sentiment, from the Church.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iv. 29 *sq.* (Bagster, 1846).

No. 157.—The Martyrdom of Shimun bar Saba'i, †341

From Sozomen [*fl. c.* 425], *H.E.*, II. ix. §§ 1–6; x. §§ 1, 2.

[ix. § 1] When, in course of time, the Christians [*sc.* in Persia], increased in number, assembled as churches, and appointed priests and deacons, the Magi, who had from

time immemorial acted as priests of the Persian religion, became deeply incensed against them. The Jews, who, through envy, are in some way naturally opposed to the Christian religion, were likewise offended. They therefore brought accusations before Sapor, the reigning sovereign, against Symeon, who was then Archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, royal cities of Persia, and charged him with being a friend of the Cæsar of the Romans, and with communicating the affairs of the Persians to him.

[§ 2] Sapor believed these accusations, and at first imposed intolerably oppressive taxes upon the Christians, although he knew that the generality of them had voluntarily embraced poverty. He appointed cruel men to exact these taxes, hoping that, by the want of necessaries, and the atrocity of the tax-gatherers, they might be compelled to abjure their religion; for this was his aim. Afterwards, however, he commanded that the priests and ministers of God should be slain with the sword. The churches were demolished, their vessels were deposited in the treasury, and Symeon was arrested as a traitor to the kingdom and the religion of the Persians.

[§ 3] Thus, the Magi with the co-operation of the Jews quickly destroyed the houses of prayer. Symeon, on his apprehension, was bound with chains and brought before the king. There he evinced the excellence and firmness of his character; for when Sapor commanded that he should be led away to the torture, he did not fear, and would not prostrate himself.

[§ 4] The king, greatly exasperated, demanded why he did not prostrate himself as he had done formerly. Symeon replied that formerly he was not led away bound, in order that he might abjure the truth of God, and therefore did not then object to pay the customary respect to royalty; but that, on the present occasion, it would not be proper for him to do so; for he stood there in defence of godliness and of the one true faith.

[§ 5] When he ceased speaking, the king commanded him to worship the sun; promising, as an inducement, to bestow gifts upon him, and to raise him to honour; but, on the other hand, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to visit him and the whole body of Christians with destruction.

When the king found that promises and menaces were alike unavailing, and that Symeon firmly refused to worship the sun, or to betray his religion, he remanded him to prison; probably imagining that, if kept for a time in bonds, he would change his mind. . . .

[x. § 1] . . . The following day, which happened to be the sixth day of the week, and likewise the day on which, as immediately preceding the festival of the Resurrection, the annual memorial of the Passion of the Saviour is celebrated, the king issued orders for the decapitation of Symeon; for he had been again conducted to the palace from the prison, had reasoned most boldly with Sapor on points of doctrine, and had expressed a determination never to worship either the king or the sun.

[§ 2] On the same day, a hundred other prisoners were ordered to be slain. Symeon beheld their execution, and last of all he was put to death. Amongst the victims were bishops, presbyters, and other clergy of different grades.—*Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iv. 59–62.

No. 158.—Julian's Treatment of the Army

From Sozomen [*fl. c.* 425], *H.E.* V. xvii. §§ 2–4, 8–12.

[§ 2] To habituate them in all things to the worship of the gods, he restored the ancient form of the standard of the Roman armies, which, as we have already stated, Constantine had, at the command of God, converted into the sign of the Cross.

[§ 3] Julian also caused to be painted, in juxtaposition with his own figure, on the public pictures, a representation either of Jupiter coming out of heaven and presenting to him the symbols of Imperial power, a crown or a purple robe, or else of Mars, or of Mercury, with their eyes intently fixed upon him, as if to express their admiration of his eloquence and military skill.

[§ 4] He placed the pictures of the gods in juxtaposition with his own, in order that the people might be led to worship them under the pretext of rendering due honour to him.

[§ 8] When the day came round for giving money to the troops, which day generally fell upon the anniversary of

some festival among the Romans, such as that of the birth of the Emperor, or the foundation of some royal city, Julian reflected that soldiers are naturally thoughtless and simple, and disposed to be covetous of money, and therefore concluded that it would be a favourable opportunity to seduce them to the worship of the gods. Accordingly, as each soldier approached to receive the money, he was commanded to offer sacrifice, fire and incense having previously been placed for this purpose near the Emperor, according to an ancient Roman custom.

[§ 9] Some of the soldiers had the courage to refuse to offer sacrifice and receive the gold; others were so habituated to the observance of the ancient custom, that they conformed to it without imagining that they were committing sin. Others, again, deluded by the lustre of the gold, complied with the pagan rite, and suffered themselves to fall into the temptation from which they ought to have fled.

[§ 10] It is related that as some of those who had ignorantly fallen into sin were seated at table and drinking to each other, one among them happened to mention the name of Christ. Another of the guests immediately exclaimed: "It is extraordinary that you should call upon Christ when, but a short time ago, you denied Him, for the sake of the Emperor's gift, by throwing incense into the fire."

[§ 11] On hearing this observation they all became suddenly conscious of the sin they had committed. . . .

[§ 12] They then presented themselves before the Emperor, threw back his gold, and besought him to put them to death. . . . He refrained from slaying them, lest they should enjoy the honour of martyrdom; he therefore merely deprived them of their military commission, and dismissed them from the court.—*Greek . Ecclesiastical Historians*, iv. 234–6.

No. 159.—Manichæism, its Attractions and their Cure

From Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, 396–†430. *De utilitate credendi* [392], §§ 20, 21, 34 (*Op.* viii. 57 *sq.*, 67 *sq.*; *P.L.* xlii. 78 *sq.*, 89 *sq.*).

[§ 20] Having then laid down these principles, which, as I think, are so just that I ought to win that cause in your

opinion with any adversary, I will set before you as well as I can what way I followed when I was seeking for true religion with that disposition with which I have now explained that it must be sought. For when I departed from you across the sea, now delaying and hesitating what I ought to hold, what to abandon, which hesitation rose every day greater before me, from the time that I was a hearer of that man, whose arrival, as you know, was promised to us as from heaven in order to explain all the things which were stirring us, and found him to be, a certain eloquence excepted, such as the rest. Being now settled in Italy, I reasoned and deliberated greatly with myself, not whether I should remain in that sect, into which I was sorry that I had fallen, but in what manner the truth was to be found, my sighs for love of which are known to no one better than to yourself. Often it seems to me that it could not be found, and great waves of my thoughts were borne along towards decision in favour of the Academics. Often again, looking as deeply as I could into the human mind, so full of life and intelligence and clearness, I thought that truth did not lie hid, except that in it the method of search lay hid, and that this same method must be received from some divine authority. There remained the enquiry what was that authority, since in the midst of such great dissensions every one promised that he would furnish it. And so there met me an intricate wood, in which indeed I was annoyed at being entangled, and in the midst of all this, without any rest, my mind was agitated with the desire of finding the truth. Yet I kept on loosening myself more and more from those whom I had already determined to abandon. But there remained nothing else in so great dangers, but to entreat the Divine Providence with tearful and piteous words that He would bring me help. And this I went on doing diligently; and now certain disputations of the Bishop of Milan had almost moved me to desire, not without some hope, to enquire, about the Old Testament itself, many points which, as you know, we used to execrate having been ill commended to us. And I had decided to be a catechumen in the Church, to which I had been delivered by my parents, for so long a time till I should either find what I wished, or persuade myself that it ought not to be

sought. Had there been one who could teach, he would have found me then most ready and very teachable. If, then, you see that you too have been affected in this way and with like care for your soul, and if you now seem to yourself to have been sufficiently tossed about, and wish to put an end to these toils, follow the way of Catholic discipline, which has come down even to us from Christ through the Apostles, and will pass on hereafter to posterity.

[§ 21] That, you say, is ridiculous, since all profess that they hold and teach this. All heretics profess this, I cannot deny it, but so as to promise those whom they entice, that they will give them a reason concerning the most obscure matters; and on this ground they chiefly charge the Catholic Church that they who come to it are bidden to believe; but they boast that they do not impose a yoke of believing, but open a fountain of teaching. What, say you, could have been said which would more pertain to their praise? It is not so. For they do this, not because furnished with any strength, but that they may gain the favour of some crowd by the name of reason, in the promise of which the soul of man naturally delights, and not considering its own strength and health, by desiring the meats of the whole, which are ill given except to those in good health, rushes in upon the poison of deceivers. For true religion can in no way be rightly entered upon, except those things be believed which each one afterwards, if he shall conduct himself rightly and be worthy, attains to and understands, nor altogether without a certain weighty control of authority.

[§ 34] This is, believe me, a most wholesome authority, this is a lifting up of our mind first from dwelling on earth, this a turning from the love of this world to the true God. It is authority alone which moves fools to hasten to wisdom. So long as we cannot understand pure truths, it is miserable indeed to be deceived by authority; but certainly it is more miserable not to be moved. For if the Providence of God does not preside over human affairs, there is no need to busy ourselves about religion. But if the outward appearance of all things which we must assuredly believe to issue forth from some source of most true beauty, and some, I know not what, interior feeling exhorts as it were publicly and

privately all the better kind of minds to seek God and to serve God, we must not give up the hope that some authority has been appointed by that same God, resting whereon, as on a sure step, we may be raised to God. But this, when reason is set aside, which, as we have often said, it is most difficult for fools to understand when pure, moves us in a twofold manner, partly by miracles, partly by multitude of followers. Nothing of these is necessary for a wise man; who would deny it? But our business now is, how we may be able to be wise, that is to cleave to the truth, which assuredly the filthy soul cannot do. Now the filth of the soul is, to explain it briefly, a love of any things besides the soul and God, from which filth the more purged any one is so much the more easily does he behold the truth. Therefore, to wish to see the truth that you may purge your soul, when it is therefore purged that you may see, is certainly perverse and preposterous. Therefore authority is at hand to a man unable to see the truth, that he may become fitted for it, and suffer himself to be purged; and, as I said a little before, no one doubts that this avails partly by miracles, partly by multitude. I call a miracle whatever appears difficult or unusual beyond the expectation or power of him who wonders at it. In which kind nothing is more adapted for the people and for foolish men in general, than what is brought near to the senses. But again, these are divided into two classes, for there are some which only cause wonder, but some procure favour and good-will. For if any one were to see a man flying, since that circumstance would confer no advantage on the spectator beyond the sight itself, he would only wonder. But if any one affected with grievous and hopeless disease were to recover at once upon being bidden, he will surpass his wonder at his cure by love for him who cured him. Such things were done at that time when God as much as was sufficient appeared unto men in true man. The sick were healed, the lepers cleansed, power to walk was restored to the lame, sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf. The men of that time saw water changed into wine, five thousand satisfied with five loaves, the sea crossed over on foot, the dead rising again; so certain things done for the body by more manifest benefit, certain things again for the mind by more hidden

sign, and all were for the good of men by their witness to Majesty: thus at that time was the Divine Authority moving the wandering souls of mortal men to itself. Why, you ask, do not those things take place now? Because they would not move, unless they were wonderful; but if they were usual, they would not be wonderful. Let there be some one with whom, however, we may be able to speak, who for the first time sees and perceives the changes of day and night, and the constant order of the heavenly bodies, the changes of the years divided into four parts, the leaves falling from and returning to the trees, the infinite power of seeds, the beauty of the light, the varieties of colours, sounds, scents, and tastes: he is stupefied and overwhelmed with miracles, but we despise all these things, not because of the ease of understanding them, for what is more obscure than the causes of these? but surely because of our constantly perceiving them. Therefore they were done at a most opportune time, that a multitude of believers, having been gathered together by them and spread abroad, authority might be profitably turned upon men's habits themselves.—H. de Romestin, *Certain Smaller Treatises of St. Augustine*, 120–3.

No. 160.—The *Lætitiæ* in Africa, 395

From Augustine, *Ep.* xxix. §§ 9–11 (*Op.* ii. 51–3; *P.L.* xxxii. 118–20).

[§ 9] Lest, however, any slight should seem to be put by us upon those who, before our time, either tolerated or did not dare to put down such manifest excesses of an undisciplined multitude, I explained to them the circumstances out of which this custom seems to have necessarily risen in the Church—namely, that when, in the peace which came after such numerous and violent persecutions, crowds of heathen who wished to assume the Christian religion were kept back because, having been accustomed to celebrate the feasts connected with their worship of idols in revelling and drunkenness, they could not easily refrain from pleasures so hurtful and so habitual, it had seemed good to our ancestors, making for the time a concession to this infirmity, to permit them to celebrate, instead of the

festivals which they renounced, other feasts in honour of the holy martyrs, which were observed, not as before with a profane design, but with similar self-indulgence. I added that now upon them, as persons bound together in the name of Christ, and submissive to the yoke of His august authority, the wholesome restraints of sobriety were laid—restraints with which the honour and fear due to Him who appointed them should move them to comply—and that therefore the time had now come in which all who did not dare to cast off the Christian profession should begin to walk according to Christ's will; and being now confirmed Christians, should reject those concessions to infirmity which were made only for a time in order to their becoming such.

[§ 10] I then exhorted them to imitate the example of the churches beyond the sea, in some of which these practices had never been tolerated, while in others they had been already put down by the people complying with the counsel of good ecclesiastical rulers; and as the examples of daily excess in the use of wine in the church of the blessed Apostle Peter were brought forward in defence of the practice, I said in the first place that I had heard that these excesses had been often forbidden, but because the place was at a distance from the bishop's control, and because in such a city the multitude of carnally-minded persons was great, the foreigners especially, of whom there is a constant influx, clinging to that practice with an obstinacy proportional to their ignorance, the suppression of so great an evil had not yet been possible. If, however, I continued, we would honour the Apostle, we ought to hear his words and look much more to the epistles by which his mind is made known to us, than to the place of worship, by which it is not made known; and immediately, taking the manuscript, I read his own words (1 Pet. iv. 1–3). After this, when I saw that all were with one consent turning to a right mind, and renouncing the custom against which I had protested, I exhorted them to assemble at noon for the reading of God's word and singing of psalms, stating that we had resolved thus to celebrate the festival[1] in a way much more accordant with

[1] Leontius, Bishop of Hippo.

purity and piety, and that by the number of worshippers who should assemble for this purpose, it would plainly appear who were guided by reason and who were the slaves of appetite. With these words the discourse concluded.

[§ 11] In the afternoon a greater number assembled than in the forenoon, and there was reading and praise alternately up to the hour at which I went out in company with the bishop [*sc.* Valerius, bishop of Hippo]; and after our coming two psalms were read. Then the old man constrained me by his express command to say something to the people, from which I would rather have been excused . . . and when those things which the Lord was pleased to suggest to me had been spoken on this subject as the occasion required, the daily evening exercises of worship were performed; and when with the bishop I retired from the church, the brethren said a hymn there, a considerable multitude remaining in the church, and engaging in praise even till daylight failed.—*Letters of St. Augustine*, i. 89 92 : tr. J. G. Cunningham.

No. 161.—The Earliest Traces of Predestinarianism in Augustine, *c.* 397

From Augustine, *De div. quæst. ad Simplicianum* [*c.* 397], I. ii. § 16 (*Op.* vi. 97; *P.L.* xl. 121).

[§ 16] . . . So, inasmuch as, according to the Apostle, "all men die in Adam," [1] from whom is derived to the whole race of mankind, the source of the offence against God, all mankind is one mass [2] of sin, owing a debt to the divine and supreme righteousness of liability to punishment; and, whether it be exacted or remitted, there is no injustice.[3] Of whom it is to be exacted and to whom it is to be remitted is a matter which it would be arrogance on the part of the debtors to decide; just as those who were admitted to the vineyard had no right to be indignant when some received as a gift as much as was paid to others as a wage.[4] So the Apostle rebukes this impertinent spirit of questioning: "Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God?" [5] For a man does, in this way, reply against God when he takes

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 22. [2] Lit. lump, Rom. ix. 21. [3] Rom. ix. 14.
[4] Matt. xxii. 11. [5] Rom. ix. 20.

exception to God's complaint against sinners, as if God obliged any man to sin. He merely refrains from bestowing upon some sinners His justifying mercy; and so He is said to "harden" [1] some sinners, because He does not extend His mercy to them, not because He obliges them to sin; He refrains from extending mercy to those to whom, according to that equity of His so secret as to be beyond the reach of all human understanding, He judges mercy ought not to be extended. For "unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out." For all that, He has a just complaint against sinners, as being of those whom He Himself does not oblige to sin. At the same time [He obliges] those to whom He extends mercy so to respond to His calling as that, when God makes complaint against sinners, they are pricked to the heart and are converted to His grace. Just therefore is His complaint, and merciful too.—K.

No. 162.—The Observances of Maundy Thursday, 400

From Augustine, *Ep.* liv. §§ 6–9 (*Op.* ii. 126 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxxiii. 203 *sq.*).

[§ 6] . . . You ask what ought to be done on the Thursday of the last week of Lent? Ought we to offer the sacrifice in the morning, and again after supper, on account of the words in the Gospel, "Likewise also . . . after supper"? Or ought we to fast and offer the sacrifice only after supper? Or ought we to fast until the offering has been made, and then take supper as we are accustomed to do? I answer, therefore, that if the authority of Scripture has decided which of these methods is right, there is no room for doubting that we should do according to that which is written. . . . In like manner, if the universal Church follows any one of these methods, there is no room for doubt as to our duty. . . . But the question which you propose is not decided either by Scripture or by universal practice. It must therefore be referred to the third class—as pertaining, namely, to things which are different in different places and countries. Let every man, therefore, conform himself

[1] Rom. ix. 18.

to the uses prevailing in the church to which he may come. . . .

[§ 7] . . . As to the question whether upon that day it is right to partake of food before either offering or partaking of the Eucharist . . . it is clear that when the disciples first received the body and blood of the Lord, they had not been fasting.

[§ 8] Must we, therefore, censure the universal Church because the sacrament is everywhere partaken of by persons fasting? Nay, verily, for from that time it pleased the Holy Spirit to appoint, for the honour of so great a sacrament, that the body of the Lord should take the precedence of all other food entering the mouth of a Christian; and it is for this reason that the custom referred to is universally observed. For the fact that the Lord instituted the sacrament after other food had been partaken of, does not prove that brethren should come together to partake of that sacrament after having dined or supped, or imitate those whom the Apostle reproved and corrected for not distinguishing between the Lord's Supper and an ordinary meal. . . . He did not prescribe the order in which it was to be observed, reserving this to be done by the Apostles, through whom He intended to arrange all things pertaining to the churches. . . . It was one of those things "set in order" by him [St. Paul] in person; for we find its observance uniform amid all the variety of other customs.—*Letters of St. Augustine*, i. 201–3: tr. J. G. Cunningham.

No. 163.—Augustine on Unauthorized Ceremonies, 400

From Augustine, *Ep.* lv. § 35 (*Op.* ii. 142; *P.L.* xxxiii. 221 *sq.*).

[§ 35] I cannot, however, sanction with my approbation those ceremonies which are departures from the custom of the Church, and are instituted on the pretext of being symbolical of some holy mystery; although for the sake of avoiding offence to the piety of some and the pugnacity of others, I do not venture to condemn severely many things of this kind. But this I deplore, and have too much occasion to do so, that comparatively little attention is paid

to many of the most wholesome rites which Scripture has enjoined; and that so many false notions everywhere prevail, that more severe rebuke would be administered to a man who should touch the ground with his feet bare during the octaves (before his baptism), than to one who drowned his intellect in drunkenness. My opinion, therefore, is that wherever it is possible, all those things should be abolished without hesitation, which neither have warrant in Holy Scripture, nor are found to have been appointed by councils of bishops, nor are confirmed by the practice of the universal Church, but are so infinitely various, according to the different customs of different places, that it is with difficulty, if at all, that the reasons which guided men in appointing them can be discovered. For even although nothing be found, perhaps, in which they are against the true faith, yet the Christian religion, which God in His mercy made free, appointing to her sacraments very few in number, and very easily observed, is by these burdensome ceremonies so oppressed, that the condition of the Jewish Church itself is preferable; for although they have not known the time of their freedom, they are subjected to burdens imposed by the law of God, not by the vain conceits of man. The Church of God, however, being meanwhile so constituted as to enclose much chaff and many tares, bears with many things; yet, if anything be contrary to the faith or to holy life, she does not approve of it either by silence or by practice.—*Letters of St. Augustine*, i. 232 *sq.*: tr. J. G. Cunningham.

No. 164.—Augustine's Undergraduate Life at Carthage, 371–8

From Augustine, *Conf.* [400] iii. §§ 6–9 (*Op.* i. 90 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxxii. 685 *sq.*).

[§ 6] Those studies also, which were accounted commendable, had a view to excelling in the courts of litigation; the more bepraised, the craftier. Such is men's blindness, glorying even in their blindness. And now I was chief in the rhetoric school, whereat I joyed proudly, and I swelled with arrogancy, though (Lord, Thou knowest) far quieter and altogether removed from the subvertings of those

"Subverters" (for this ill-omened and devilish name, was the very badge of gallantry) among whom I lived, with a shameless shame that I was not even as they. With them I lived, and was sometimes delighted with their friendship, whose doings I ever did abhor, *i.e.* their "subvertings," wherewith they wantonly persecuted the modesty of strangers, which they disturbed by a gratuitous jeering, feeding thereon their malicious mirth. Nothing can be liker the very actions of devils than these. What then could they be more truly called than "subverters"? themselves subverted and altogether perverted first, the deceiving spirits secretly deriding and seducing them, wherein themselves delight to jeer at, and deceive others.

[§ 7] Among such as these, in that unsettled age of mine, learned I books of eloquence, wherein I desired to be eminent, out of a damnable and vainglorious end, a joy in human vanity. In the ordinary course of study, I fell upon a certain book of Cicero, whose speech almost all admire, not so his heart. This book of his contains an exhortation to philosophy, and is called "*Hortensius*." But this book altered my affections, and turned my prayers to Thyself, O Lord; and made me have other purposes and desires. Every vain hope at once became worthless to me; and I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began now to arise, that I might return to Thee. For not to sharpen my tongue, (which thing I seemed to be purchasing with my mother's allowances, in that my nineteenth year, my father being dead two years before,) not to sharpen my tongue did I employ that book; nor did it infuse into me its style, but its matter.

[§ 8] How did I burn then, my God, how did I burn to re-mount from earthly things to Thee, nor knew I what Thou wouldest do with me? For with Thee is wisdom. But the love of wisdom is in Greek called "philosophy," with which that book inflamed me. Some there be that seduce through philosophy, under a great, and smooth, and honourable name colouring and disguising their own errors: and almost all who in that and former ages were such, are in that book censured and set forth: there also is made plain that wholesome advice of Thy Spirit, by Thy good

and devout servant; *Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily.*[1] And since at that time (Thou, O light of my heart, knowest) Apostolic Scripture was not known to me, I was delighted with that exhortation, so far only, that I was thereby strongly roused, and kindled, and inflamed to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold, and embrace not this or that sect, but wisdom itself whatever it were; and this alone checked me thus enkindled, that the name of Christ was not in it. For this name, according to Thy mercy, O Lord, this name of my Saviour Thy Son, had my tender heart, even with my mother's milk, devoutly drunk in, and deeply treasured; and whatsoever was without that name, though never so learned, polished, or true, took not entire hold of me.

[§ 9] I resolved then to bend my mind to the holy Scriptures, that I might see what they were. But behold, I see a thing not understood by the proud, nor laid open to children, lowly in access, in its recesses lofty, and veiled with mysteries; and I was not such as could enter into it, or stoop my neck to follow its steps. For not as I now speak, did I feel when I turned to those Scriptures; but they seemed to me unworthy to be compared to the stateliness of Tully: for my swelling pride shrunk from their lowliness, nor could my sharp wit pierce the interior thereof. Yet were they such as would grow up in a little one. But I disdained to be a little one, and, swollen with pride, took myself to be a great one.—*L.F.* i. 31–3.

No. 165.—Augustine as Professor of Rhetoric at Milan, 385–6

From Augustine, *Conf.* v. §§ 22–3 (*Op.* ii. 117 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxxii. 716 *sq.*).

[§ 22] I began then diligently to practise that for which I came to Rome, to teach rhetoric; and first, to gather some to my house, to whom, and through whom, I had begun to be known; when lo, I found other offences

[1] Col. ii. 8, 9.

committed in Rome, to which I was not exposed in Africa. True, those "subvertings" by profligate young men were not here practised, as was told me: but on a sudden, said they, to avoid paying their master's stipend, a number of youths plot together, and remove to another; breakers of faith, who for love of money hold justice cheap. These also *my heart hated*, though not *with a perfect hatred*:[1] for perchance I hated them more because I was to suffer by them, than because they did things utterly unlawful. Of a truth such are base persons, and they go a whoring from Thee, loving these fleeting mockeries of things temporal, and filthy lucre, which fouls the hand that grasps it; hugging the fleeting world, and despising Thee, who abidest, and recallest, and forgivest the adulteress soul of man, when she returns to Thee. And now I hate such depraved and crooked persons, though I love them if corrigible, so as to prefer to money the learning, which they acquire, and to learning, Thee, O God, the truth and fullness of assured good, and most pure peace. But then I rather for my own sake misliked them evil, than liked and wished them good for Thine.

[§ 23] When therefore they of Milan had sent to Rome to the prefect of the city, to furnish them with a rhetoric reader for their city, and send him at the public expense, I made application (through those very persons, intoxicated with Manichæan vanities, to be freed wherefrom I was to go, neither of us however knowing it) that Symmachus, then prefect of the city, would try me by setting me some subject, and so send me. To Milan I came, to Ambrose the Bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, Thy devout servant; whose eloquent discourse did then plentifully dispense unto Thy people the flour of Thy wheat, the gladness of Thy oil, and the sober inebriation of Thy wine.[2] To him was I unknowingly led by Thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to Thee. That man of God received me as a father, and showed me an Episcopal kindness on my coming. Thenceforth I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the truth, (which I utterly despaired of in Thy Church,) but as a person kind towards myself. And I listened diligently to him preaching to the

[1] Ps. cxxxix. 22. [2] Ps. iv. 7; civ. 15.

people, not with that intent I ought, but, as it were, trying his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof, or flowed fuller or lower than was reported; and I hung on his words attentively; but of the matter I was as a careless and scornful looker-on; and I was delighted with the sweetness of his discourse, more recondite, yet in manner, less winning and harmonious, than that of Faustus. Of the matter, however, there was no comparison; for the one was wandering amid Manichæan delusions, the other teaching salvation most soundly. But *salvation is far from sinners*,[1] such as I then stood before him; and yet was I drawing nearer by little and little, and unconsciously.—*L.F.* i. 81 *sq.*

No. 166.—Allegorism

From Augustine, *Conf.* v. §§ 24–5 (*Op.* ii. 118; *P.L.* xxxii. 716 *sq.*).

[§ 24] For though I took no pains to learn what he spake, but only to hear how he spake: (for that empty care alone was left me, despairing of a way, open for man, to Thee,) yet together with the words which I would choose, came also into my mind the things which I would refuse; for I could not separate them. And while I opened my heart to admit "how eloquently he spake," there also entered "how truly he spake"; but this by degrees. For first, these things also had now begun to appear to me capable of defence; and the Catholic faith, for which I had thought nothing could be said against the Manichees' objections, I now thought might be maintained without shamelessness; especially after I had heard one or two places of the Old Testament resolved, and ofttimes "*in a figure*,"[2] which when I understood literally, I was slain spiritually. Very many places then of those books having been explained, I now blamed my despair, in believing, that no answer could be given to such as hated and scoffed at the Law and the Prophets. Yet did I not therefore then see, that the Catholic way was to be held, because it also could find learned maintainers, who could at large and with some show of reason answer objections; nor that what I held was therefore to be condemned, because both sides

[1] Ps. cxix. 155. [2] 1 Cor. xiii. 12; 2 Cor. iii. 6.

could be maintained. For the Catholic cause seemed to me in such sort not vanquished, as still not as yet to be victorious.

[§ 25] Hereupon I earnestly bent my mind, to see if in any way I could by any certain proof convict the Manichees of falsehood. Could I once have conceived a spiritual substance, all their strongholds had been beaten down, and cast utterly out of my mind; but I could not. Notwithstanding, concerning the frame of this world, and the whole of nature, which the senses of the flesh can reach to, as I more and more considered and compared things, I judged the tenets of most of the philosophers to have been much more probable. So then after the manner of the Academics (as they are supposed) doubting of everything, and wavering between all, I settled so far, that the Manichees were to be abandoned; judging that, even while doubting, I might not continue in that sect, to which I already preferred some of the philosophers; to which philosophers notwithstanding, for that they were without the saving Name of Christ, I utterly refused to commit the cure of my sick soul. I determined therefore so long to be a Catechumen in the Catholic Church, to which I had been commended by my parents, till something certain should dawn upon me, whither I might steer my course.—*L. F.* i. 82–4.

No. 167.—The Conversion of Victorinus, 362

From Augustine, *Conf.* viii. §§ 3–5 (*Op.* ii. 145–7; *P.L.* xxxii. 741–51).

[§ 3] To Simplicianus then I went, the father of Ambrose (a Bishop now) in receiving Thy grace, and whom Ambrose truly loved as a father. To him I related the mazes of my wanderings. But when I mentioned that I had read certain books of the Platonists, which Victorinus, sometime Rhetoric Professor of Rome, (who had died a Christian, as I had heard,) had translated into Latin, he testified his joy that I had not fallen upon the writings of other philosophers, full of *fallacies and deceits, after the rudiments of this world*,[1] whereas the Platonists many ways led to the belief in God

[1] Col. ii. 8.

and His Word. Then to exhort me to the humility of Christ, *hidden from the wise, and revealed to little ones*,[1] he spoke of Victorinus himself whom while at Rome he had most intimately known: and of him he related what I will not conceal. For it contains great *praise of Thy grace*, to be confessed unto Thee, how that aged man, most learned and skilled in the liberal sciences, and who had read, and weighed so many works of the philosophers; the instructor of so many noble Senators, who also, as a monument of his excellent discharge of his office, had (which men of this world esteem a high honour) both deserved and obtained a statue in the Roman Forum; he, to that age a worshipper of idols, and a partaker of the sacrilegious rites, to which almost all the nobility of Rome were given up, and had inspired the people with the love of

> Anubis, barking Deity, and all
> The monster Gods of every kind, who fought
> 'Gainst Neptune, Venus, and Minerva:

whom Rome once conquered, now adored, all which the aged Victorinus had with thundering eloquence so many years defended;—he now blushed not to be the child of Thy Christ, and the new-born babe of Thy fountain; submitting his neck to the yoke of humility, and subduing his forehead to the reproach of the Cross.

[§ 4] O Lord, Lord, *Which hast bowed the heavens and come down, touched the mountains and they did smoke*,[2] by what means didst Thou convey Thyself into that breast? He used to read (as Simplicianus said) the holy Scripture, most studiously sought and searched into all the Christian writings, and said to Simplicianus, (not openly, but privately and as a friend,) "Understand that I am already a Christian." Whereto he answered, "I will not believe it, nor will I rank you among Christians, unless I see you in the Church of Christ." The other, in banter, replied, "Do walls then make Christians?" And this he often said, that he was already a Christian; and Simplicianus as often made the same answer, and the conceit of the "walls" was by the other as often renewed. For he feared to offend his friends, proud dæmon-worshippers, from the height of whose

[1] Matt. xi. 25. [2] Ps. cxliv. 5.

Babylonian dignity, as from *cedars of Libanus*,[1] which *the Lord* had not yet *broken down*, he supposed the weight of enmity would fall upon him. But after that by reading and earnest thought he had gathered firmness, and feared to be *denied by Christ before the holy angels, should he now be afraid to confess him before men*,[2] and appeared to himself guilty of a heavy offence, in being ashamed of the Sacraments of the humility of Thy Word, and not being ashamed of the sacrilegious rites of those proud dæmons, whose pride he had imitated and their rites adopted, he became bold-faced against vanity, and shame-faced towards the truth, and suddenly and unexpectedly said to Simplicianus, (as himself told me,) "Go we to the Church; I wish to be made a Christian." But he, not containing himself for joy, went with him. And having been admitted to the first Sacrament and become a Catechumen, not long after he further gave in his name, that he might be regenerated by baptism, Rome wondering, the Church rejoicing. The proud *saw, and were wroth; they gnashed with their teeth, and melted away*.[3] But the *Lord* God *was the hope* of Thy servant, and *he regarded not vanities and lying madness*.[4]

[§ 5] To conclude, when the hour was come for making profession of his faith, (which at Rome they, who are about to approach to Thy grace, deliver, from an elevated place, in the sight of all the faithful, in a set form of words committed to memory,) the presbyters, he said, offered Victorinus (as was done to such, as seemed likely through bashfulness to be alarmed) to make his profession more privately: but he chose rather to profess his salvation in the presence of the holy multitude. "For it was not salvation that he taught in rhetoric, and yet that he had publicly professed. How much less then ought he, when pronouncing Thy word, to dread Thy meek flock, who, when delivering his own words, had not feared a mad multitude!" When, then, he went up to make his profession, all, as they knew him, whispered his name one to another with the voice of congratulation. And who there knew him not? and there ran a low murmur through all the mouths of the rejoicing multitude, Victorinus! Victorinus!

[1] Ps. xxix. 5.
[2] Luke ix. 26.
[3] Ps. cxii. 10.
[4] Ps. xxxi. 6; xl., etc.

Sudden was the burst of rapture, that they saw him; suddenly were they hushed that they might hear him. He pronounced the true faith with an excellent boldness, and all wished to draw him into their very heart: yea by their love and joy they drew him thither; such were the hands wherewith they drew him.—*L.F.* i. 135–8.

No. 168.—The Story of Pontitianus

From Augustine, *Conf.* viii. §§ 14, 15, 18 (*Op.* ii. 149–51; *P.L.* xxxii. 754–6).

[§ 14] Upon a day then, Nebridius being absent, (I recollect not why,) lo, there came to see me and Alypius, one Pontitianus, our countryman so far as being an African, in high office in the Emperor's court. What he would with us, I know not, but we sat down to converse, and it happened that upon a table for some game, before us, he observed a book, took, opened it, and contrary to his expectation, found it the Apostle Paul; for he had thought it some of those books, which I was wearing myself in teaching. Whereat smiling, and looking at me, he expressed his joy and wonder, that he had on a sudden found this book, and this only before my eyes. For he was a Christian, and baptized, and often bowed himself before Thee our God in the Church, in frequent and continued prayers. When then I had told him, that I had bestowed very great pains upon those Scriptures, a conversation arose (suggested by his account) on Antony the Egyptian Monk: whose name was in high reputation among Thy servants, though to that hour unknown to us. Which when he discovered, he dwelt the more upon that subject, informing and wondering at our ignorance of one so eminent. But we stood amazed, hearing Thy wonderful works most fully attested, in times so recent, and almost in our own, wrought in the true Faith and Church Catholic. We all wondered; we, that they were so great, and he, that they had not reached us.

[§ 15] Thence his discourse turned to the flocks in the Monasteries, and their holy ways, a sweet smelling savour unto Thee, and the fruitful deserts of the wilderness, whereof we knew nothing. And there was a Monastery at Milan,

full of good brethren, without the city walls, under the fostering care of Ambrose, and we knew it not. He went on with his discourse, and we listened in intent silence. He told us then how one afternoon at Treves, when the Emperor was taken up with the Circensian games, he and three others, his companions, went out to walk in gardens near the city walls, and there as they happened to walk in pairs, one went apart with him, and the other two wandered by themselves; and these, in their wanderings, lighted upon a certain cottage, inhabited by certain of thy servants, *poor in spirit, of whom is the kingdom of heaven*,[1] and there they found a little book, containing the life of Antony. This one of them began to read, admire, and kindle at it; and as he read, to meditate on taking up such a life, and giving over his secular service to serve Thee. And these two were of those whom they style agents for the public affairs. Then suddenly, filled with an holy love, and a sober shame, in anger with himself he cast his eyes upon his friend, saying, "Tell me, I pray thee, what would we attain by all these labours of ours? what aim we at? what serve we for? Can our hopes in court rise higher than to be the Emperor's favourites? and in this, what is there not brittle, and full of perils? and by how many perils arrive we at a greater peril? And when arrive we thither? But a friend of God, if I wish it, I become now at once." So spake he. And in pain with the travail of a new life, he turned his eyes again upon the book, and read on, and was changed inwardly, where Thou sawest, and his mind was stripped of the world, as soon appeared. For as he read, and rolled up and down the waves of his heart, he stormed at himself a while, then discerned, and determined on a better course; and now being Thine, said to his friend, "Now have I broken loose from those our hopes, and am resolved to serve God; and this, from this hour, in this place, I begin upon. If thou likest not to imitate me, oppose not." The other answered, he would cleave to him, to partake so glorious a reward, so glorious a service. Thus both being now Thine, were *building* the *tower* at the necessary *cost*, the *forsaking all that they had, and following Thee*.[2] Then Pontitianus and the other with him, that had walked in other parts of the

[1] Matt. v. 3. [2] Luke xiv. 26–35.

garden, came in search of them to the same place; and finding them, reminded them to return, for the day was now far spent. But they relating their resolution and purpose, and how that will was begun, and settled in them, begged them, if they would not join, not to molest them. But the others, though nothing altered from their former selves, did yet bewail themselves, (as he affirmed,) and piously congratulated them, recommending themselves to their prayers; and so, with hearts lingering on the earth, went away to the palace. But the other two, fixing their heart on heaven, remained in the cottage. And both had affianced brides, who when they heard hereof, also dedicated their virginity unto God.

[§ 18] And I had thought, that I therefore deferred from day to day to reject the hopes of this world, and follow Thee only, because there did not appear aught certain, whither to direct my course. And now was the day come wherein I was to be laid bare to myself, and my conscience was to upbraid me. "Where art thou now, my tongue? Thou saidst, that for an uncertain truth thou likedst not to cast off the baggage of vanity; now, it is certain, and yet that burthen still oppresseth thee, while they who neither have so worn themselves out with seeking it, nor for ten years and more have been thinking thereon, have had their shoulders lightened, and received wings to fly away." Thus was I gnawed within, and exceedingly confounded with an horrible shame, while Pontitianus was so speaking. And he having brought to a close his tale and the business he came for, went his way; and I into myself. What said I not against myself? with what scourges of condemnation lashed I not my soul, that it might follow me, striving to go after Thee! Yet it drew back; refused, but excused not itself. All arguments were spent and confuted; there remained a mute shrinking; and she feared, as she would death, to be restrained from the flux of that custom, whereby she was wasting to death.—*L.F.* 143–5, 146 *sq.*

No. 169.—The Conversion of St. Augustine, Aug. 386

From Augustine, *Conf.* viii. §§ 28–30 (*Op.* ii. 155–6; *P.L.* xxxii. 716–4).

[§ 28] But when a deep consideration had from the secret bottom of my soul drawn together and heaped up all my misery in the sight of my heart; there arose a mighty storm, bringing a mighty shower of tears. Which that I might pour forth wholly, in its natural expressions, I rose from Alypius: solitude was suggested to me as fitter for the business of weeping; so I retired so far that even his presence could not be a burthen to me. Thus was it then with me, and he perceived something of it; for something I suppose I had spoken, wherein the tones of my voice appeared choked with weeping, and so had risen up. He then remained where we were sitting, most extremely astonished. I cast myself down I know not how, under a certain fig-tree, giving full vent to my tears; and the floods of mine eyes gushed out, an *acceptable sacrifice to Thee.* And, not indeed in these words, yet to this purpose, spake I much unto Thee: *And Thou, O Lord, how long? how long, Lord, wilt thou be angry for ever?*[1] *Remember not our former iniquities,*[2] for I felt that I was held by them. I sent up these sorrowful words; How long? how long, "to-morrow, and to-morrow?" Why not now? why not is there this hour an end to my uncleanness?

[§ 29] So was I speaking, and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, lo! I heard from a neighbouring house a voice, as of boy or girl, I know not, chanting, and oft repeating, "Take up and read; Take up and read." Instantly, my countenance altered, I began to think most intently, whether children were wont in any kind of play to sing such words: nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So checking the torrent of my tears, I arose; interpreting it to be no other than a command from God, to open the book, and read the first chapter I should find. For I had heard of Antony, that coming in during the reading of the Gospel, he received the admonition, as if

[1] Ps. vi. 4. [2] Ps. lxxix. 5, 8.

what was being read, was spoken to him; *Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me.*[1] And by such oracle he was forthwith converted unto Thee. Eagerly then I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the Apostle, when I arose thence. I seized, opened, and in silence read that section, on which my eyes first fell: *Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh,*[2] in concupiscence. No further would I read; nor needed I: for instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away.

[§ 30] Then putting my finger between, or some other mark, I shut the volume, and with a calmed countenance made it known to Alypius. And what was wrought in him, which I knew not, he thus showed me. He asked to see what I had read: I showed him; and he looked even further than I had read, and I knew not what followed. This followed, *him that is weak in the faith, receive;*[3] which he applied to himself, and disclosed to me. And by this admonition was he strengthened; and by a good resolution and purpose, and most corresponding to his character, wherein he did always very far differ from me, for the better, without any turbulent delay he joined me. Thence we go in to my mother; we tell her; she rejoiceth: we relate in order how it took place; she leaps for joy, and triumpheth, and blesseth Thee, *Who art able to do above that which we ask or think;*[4] for she perceived that Thou hadst given her more for me, than she was wont to beg by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings. For Thou convertedst me unto Thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope of this world, standing in that rule of faith, where Thou hadst showed me unto her in a vision, so many years before. And Thou didst *convert her mourning into joy,*[5] much more plentiful than she had desired, and in a much more precious and purer way than she erst required, by having grandchildren of my body.—*L.F.* i. 152–4.

[1] Matt. xix. 21. [2] Rom. xiii. 13, 14. [3] Rom. xiv. 1.
[4] Ephes. iii. 20. [5] Ps. xxx. 11.

No. 170.—Antiphonal Psalmody at Milan, 386

From Augustine, *Conf.* ix. § 15 (*Op.* i. 162 F; *P.L.* xxxii. 779).

[§ 15] Not long had the Church of Milan begun to use this kind of consolation and exhortation, the brethren zealously joining with harmony of voice and hearts. For it was a year, or not much more, that Justina, mother to the Emperor Valentinian, a child, persecuted Thy servant Ambrose, in favour of her heresy, to which she was seduced by the Arians. The devout people kept watch in the Church, ready to die with their Bishop Thy servant. There my mother Thy handmaid, bearing a chief part of those anxieties and watchings, lived for prayer. We, yet unwarmed by the heat of Thy Spirit, still were stirred up by the sight of the amazed and disquieted city. Then it was first instituted that after the manner of the Eastern Churches, Hymns and Psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow: and from that day to this the custom is retained, divers, yea, almost all Thy congregations, throughout other parts of the world, following herein.—*L.F.* i. 166 *sq.*

No. 171.—Augustine, on a Class of Catechumens, 400

From Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, § 19 (*Op.* vi.: †276 *sq.*; *P.L.* xl. 325).

[§ 19] Often, too, it happens, that he who at first heard us with pleasure, being wearied either by listening or by standing, now yawns and gapes, and even against his will shows a wish to depart. And when we have perceived this, we ought either to refresh his mind by saying something seasoned with decent cheerfulness, and suited to the matter which is being treated, or something very wonderful and marvellous, or even painful and sad; and preferably touching himself, that being pricked by concern for himself he may rouse up, and yet not such as to wound his feeling of reverence by any sharpness, but rather by a friendly manner to conciliate him; or we may relieve him by the offer of a seat, although without doubt it would be better, where it

can be done with propriety, that the listener should sit from the commencement; and with far greater wisdom in certain churches beyond the sea, not only do the bishops sit when they address the people, but seats are provided for the people themselves, lest any one who is weak being wearied by standing should have his mind turned away from most profitable attention, or even be obliged to depart. And yet it makes a great difference, whether one of a great multitude withdraws himself to recruit his strength, who is already bound by participation in the Sacraments, or he withdraws who has to be initiated in the first Sacraments, (being generally unavoidably compelled, lest overcome by weakness within he even fall,) and through shame does not say why he goes, and through his weakness is not able to stand. I speak this from experience, for a certain countryman did this when I was catechizing him, whence I learnt that this is very carefully to be guarded against. For who would endure our arrogance, when we do not cause to sit down in our presence men who are our brethren, or, which should be attended to with even greater care, in order that they may become our brethren, and yet a woman listened sitting to our Lord Himself, before Whom even the Angels stand?[1] Certainly if either the discourse is going to be short, or the place not suitable for sitting, let them listen standing, but [only] when the hearers are many, and are not to be admitted at that time. For when they are one or two, or a few, who have come in order to be made Christians, it is dangerous to speak to them standing. If however we have already begun in this manner, at least when the weariness of the hearer is observed, a seat should be offered him, nay, rather he must be pressed to sit down, and something should be said to refresh him, by which too, if any anxiety has entered his mind and begun to draw off his attention, it may be put to flight. For since the causes are unknown to us for which he remains silent and refuses to listen, something may, now that he is sitting, be said to him against thoughts of worldly matters which suggest themselves, either, as I have said, in a bright or in a serious manner; so that if these are what occupied his mind they may depart as if accused by name; but if it is not these, and he is wearied

[1] Luke x. 39.

with listening, when we speak of them in an unexpected and unusual manner, as I have said as if they really existed (since we indeed do not know), his attention will be restored from his weariness. But let this be brief, especially because it is inserted out of order, lest the very remedy increase the disease of weariness which we wish to relieve; and what remains should be hastened through, and a speedy termination be promised and held out.—H. de Romestin, *Certain Smaller Treatises of St. Augustine*, 28–30.

No. 172.—Donatist Sacraments valid but not efficacious

From Augustine, *Ep.* lxi. [401] § 2 (*Op.* ii. 149; *P.L.* xxxiii. 229).

[§ 2] When, therefore, any come to us from the party of Donatus, we do not welcome the evil which belongs to them, viz. their error and schism; these, the only obstacles to our concord, are removed from between us, and we embrace our brethren, standing with them, as the Apostle says, "in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace,"[1] and acknowledging in them the good things which are divine, as their holy Baptism, the blessing conferred by Ordination, their profession of self-denial, their vow of celibacy, their faith in the Trinity, and such-like; all which things were indeed theirs before but "profited them nothing, because they had not charity."[2] For what truth is there in the profession of Christian charity by him who does not embrace Christian unity? When, therefore, they come to the Catholic Church, they gain thereby not what they already possessed, but something which they had not before—namely, that those things which they possessed begin then to be profitable to them. For in the Catholic Church they obtain the root of charity in the bond of peace and in the fellowship of unity; so that all the sacraments of truth which they hold serve not to condemn, but to deliver them.—*Letters of St. Augustine*, i. 241: tr. J. G. Cunningham.

[1] Ephes. iv. 3. [2] 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

No. 173.—Christ the Principal Agent in the Sacraments

From Augustine, *Contra litt. Petil.* [402], iii. § 59 (*Op.* ix. 326 *sq.*; *P.L.* xliii. 378 *sq.*).

[§ 59] Do not, therefore, any longer say, "The conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient," lest you should be asked: When a stain on the conscience of the giver is concealed, who cleanses the conscience of the recipient? And when you shall have answered, Either God or an angel (since there is no other answer which you possibly can make), then should follow a consequence whereby you would be confounded: Those then are justified with greater holiness who are baptized by undetected evil men, so as to be cleansed by God or by an angel, than those who are baptized by men who are genuinely and manifestly good, who cannot be compared with God or with the angels. But prevail upon yourselves to say what is said by Truth and by the Catholic Church, that not only when the minister of baptism is evil, but also when he is holy and good, hope is still not to be placed in man, but in Him that justifieth the ungodly, in whom, if any man believe, his faith is counted for righteousness. For when we say Christ baptizes, we do not mean by a visible ministry, as Petilianus believes, or would have men think that he believes, to be our meaning, but by a hidden grace, by a hidden power in the Holy Spirit, as it is said of Him by John the Baptist, "the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." Nor has He, as Petilianus says, now ceased to baptize; but He still does it not by any ministry of the body, but by the invisible working of His majesty. For in that we say "He Himself baptizes," we do not mean "He Himself holds and dips in the water the bodies of the believers"; but He himself invisibly cleanses, and that He does to the whole Church without exception.—Augustine, *On the Donatist Controversy* 461 *sq.*: tr. J. R. King.

No. 174.—The Objectivity of the Sacraments

From Augustine, *Contra litt. Petil.* [402], iii. § 88 (*Op.* i. 246; *P.L.* xliii. 291).

[§ 88] . . . And if you do not say this for fear of being ridiculed for your madness even by the insane themselves, what answer will you be able to make when you are asked why men should have required to be baptized after receiving baptism from John, while no one needs to be baptized after receiving it from Optatus, unless it be that the former were baptized with the baptism of John, while, whenever any one is baptized with the baptism of Christ, whether he be baptized by Paul or by Optatus, there is no difference in the nature of his baptism, though there is so great a difference between Paul and Optatus? Return, then, O ye transgressors, to a right mind, and do not seek to weigh the sacraments of God by considerations of the characters and deeds of men. For the sacraments are holy through Him to whom they belong; but when taken in hand worthily, they bring reward; when unworthily, judgment.—Augustine, *On the Donatist Controversy*, 310: tr. J. R. King.

No. 175—Augustine on Repressive Legislation, 408

From Augustine, *Ep.* xciii. §§ 2, 17 (*Op.* ii. 232, 237 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxxiii. 321–9).

[§ 5] You are of opinion that no one should be compelled to follow righteousness; and yet you read that the householder said to his servants, "Compel them to come in." You also read how he who was at first Saul and afterwards Paul, was compelled, by the great violence with which Christ coerced him, to know and to embrace the truth; for you cannot but think that the light which our eyes enjoy is more precious to men than money or any other possession. This light, lost suddenly by him when he was cast to the ground by the heavenly voice, he did not recover until he became a member of the holy Church. You are also of opinion that no coercion is to be used with any man in order to his deliverance from the fatal consequences of

error; and yet you see that in examples which cannot be disputed, this is done by God, who loves us with more real regard for our profit than any other can, and you hear Christ saying, "No man can come unto Me, except the Father draw him,"[1] which is done in the hearts of all those who, through fear of the wrath of God, betake themselves to Him. You know also that sometimes the thief scatters food before the flock that he may lead them astray, and sometimes the shepherd brings wandering sheep back to the flock with his rod.

[§ 17] I have therefore yielded to the evidence afforded by these instances which my colleagues have laid before me. For originally my opinion was that no one should be coerced into the unity of Christ, that we must act only by words, fight only by arguments, and prevail by force of reason, lest we should have those whom we knew as avowed heretics feigning themselves to be Catholics. But this opinion of mine was overcome not by the words of those who controverted it, but by the conclusive instances to which they could point. For, in the first place, there was set over against my opinion my own town; which, although it was once wholly on the side of Donatus, was brought over to the Catholic unity by fear of the Imperial edicts, but which we now see filled with such detestation of your ruinous perversity, that it would scarcely be believed that it had ever been involved in your error.—*Letters of St. Augustine*, i. 399, 409 *sq.*: tr. J. G. Cunningham.

No. 176.—Grace

From Augustine, *De Spiritu et littera* [412], § 5 (*Op.* x. 4; *P.L.* xlv. 204).

[§ 5] We, however, on our side, affirm that the human will is so divinely aided in the pursuit of righteousness, that, in addition to the fact of man's being created with a free-will, and besides the doctrine which instructs him how he ought to live, he receives the Holy Ghost, by whose gift there springs up in his mind a delight in, and a love of, that supreme and unchangeable good which is God, even in the present state, while he still "walks by faith" and not

[1] Luke xiv. 23.

yet "by sight"; in order that by this gift to him of the earnest, as it were, of the free gift, he may conceive an ardent desire to cleave to his Maker, and burn to approach to a participation in that true light, that it may go well with him from Him to whom he owes all that he is. A man's free-will, indeed, only avails to induce him to sin, if he knows not the way of truth; and, even after his duty and his proper aim shall begin to become known to him, unless he take delight and feel a love therein, he neither does his duty, nor sets about it, nor effects a righteous life. Now, in order that such a course may engage our affections, God's "love is shed abroad in our hearts" not through the free-will which arises from ourselves, but "through the Holy Ghost which is given us."—*The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St. Augustine*, i. 160: tr. P. Holmes.

No. 177.—Augustine to Marcellinus on the Punishment of Donatists, 412

From Augustine, *Ep.* cxxxiii. [412], § 2 (*Op.* ii. 396 E; *P.L.* xxxiii. 509).

[§ 2] Fulfil, Christian judge, the duty of an affectionate father; let your indignation against their crimes be tempered by considerations of humanity; be not provoked by the atrocity of their sinful deeds to gratify the passion of revenge, but rather be moved by the wounds which these deeds have inflicted on their own souls to exercise a desire to heal them. Do not lose now that fatherly care which you maintained when prosecuting the examination, in doing which you extracted the confession of such horrid crimes, not by stretching them on the rack, not by furrowing their flesh with iron claws, not by scorching them with flames, but by beating them with rods—a mode of correction used by schoolmasters, and by parents themselves in chastising children, and often also by bishops in the sentences awarded by them. Do not, therefore, now punish with extreme severity the crimes which you searched out with lenity. The necessity for harshness is greater in the investigation than in the infliction of punishment; for even the gentlest men use diligence and stringency in searching out a hidden crime, that they may find to whom they may show mercy.

Wherefore it is generally necessary to use more rigour in making inquisition, so that when the crime has been brought to light, there may be scope for displaying clemency.—*Letters of St. Augustine*, ii. 169 *sq.*: tr. J. G. Cunningham.

No. 178.—The Sermon on the Mount, Social Order, and War

From Augustine, *Ep.* cxxxviii. [412] §§ 13–15 (*Op.* ii. 415; *P.L.* xxxiii. 530–2).

[§ 13] In fine, that these precepts pertain rather to the inward disposition of the heart than to the actions which are done in the sight of men, requiring us, in the inmost heart, to cherish patience along with benevolence, but in the outward action to do that which seems most likely to benefit those whose good we ought to seek, is manifest from the fact that our Lord Jesus Himself, our perfect example of patience, when He was smitten on the face, answered, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?"[1] If we look only to the words, He did not in this obey His own precept; for He did not present the other side of His face[2] to him who had smitten Him, but, on the contrary, prevented him who had done the wrong from adding thereto; and yet He came prepared not only to be smitten on the face, but even to be slain upon the cross for those at whose hands He suffered crucifixion, and for whom, when hanging on the cross, He prayed "Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do." . . .

[§ 14] These precepts concerning patience ought to be always retained in the habitual discipline of the heart; and the benevolence which prevents the recompensing of evil for evil must be always fully cherished in the disposition. At the same time, many things must be done in correcting with a certain benevolent severity, even against their own wishes, men whose welfare rather than their wishes it is our duty to consult; and the Christian Scriptures have most unambiguously commended this virtue in a magistrate. For in the correction of a son, even with some sternness,

[1] John xviii. 23. [2] Matt. v. 39.

there is assuredly no diminution of a father's love; yet in the correction, that is done which is received with reluctance and pain by one whom it seems necessary to heal by pain. And on this principle, if the Commonwealth observe the precepts of the Christian religion, even its wars themselves will not be carried on without the benevolent design that, after the resisting nations have been conquered, provision may be more easily made for enjoying in peace the mutual bond of piety and justice. For the person from whom is taken away the freedom which he abuses in doing wrong is vanquished with benefit to himself; since nothing is more truly a misfortune than that good fortune of offenders, by which pernicious impunity is maintained, and the evil disposition, like an enemy within the man, is strengthened. But the perverse and froward hearts of men think human affairs are prosperous when men are concerned about magnificent mansions, and indifferent to the ruin of souls; when mighty theatres are built up, and the foundations of virtue are undermined; when the madness of extravagance is highly esteemed, and works of mercy are scorned; when, out of the wealth and affluence of rich men, luxurious provision is made for actors, and the poor are grudged the necessaries of life; when that God who, by the public declarations of His doctrine, protests against public vice, is blasphemed by impious communities which demand gods of such character that even those theatrical representations which bring disgrace to body and soul are fitly performed in honour of them. If God permit these things to prevail, He is in that permission showing more grievous displeasure; if He leave these crimes unpunished, such impunity is a more terrible judgment. When, on the other hand, He overthrows the props of vice, and reduces to poverty those lusts which were nursed by plenty, He afflicts in mercy. And in mercy also, if such a thing were possible, even wars might be waged by the good, in order that, by bringing under the yoke the unbridled lusts of men, those vices might be abolished which ought, under a just government, to be either extirpated or suppressed.

[§ 15] For if the Christian religion condemned wars of every kind, the command given in the Gospel to soldiers asking counsel as to salvation would rather be to cast away

their arms, and withdraw themselves wholly from military service; whereas the word spoken to such was, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages"—the command to be content with their wages manifestly implying no prohibition to continue in the service. Wherefore, let those who say that the doctrine of Christ is incompatible with the State's well-being, give us an army composed of soldiers such as the doctrine of Christ requires them to be; let them give us such subjects, such husbands and wives, such parents and children, such masters and servants, such kings, such judges—in fine, even such taxpayers and taxgatherers, as the Christian religion has taught that men should be, and then let them dare to say that it is adverse to the State's well-being; yea, rather, let them no longer hesitate to confess that this doctrine, if it were obeyed, would be the salvation of the Commonwealth.—*Letters of St. Augustine*, ii. 204–6: tr. J. G. Cunningham.

No. 179.—The Circumcellions, *c.* 350

From Augustine, *Ep.* clxxxv. [*c.* 417] § 15 (*Op.* ii. 649; *P.L.* xxxiii. 799).

[§ 15] And, indeed, before these laws were put in force by the Emperors of the Catholic Faith, the doctrine of the peace and unity of Christ was beginning by degrees to gain ground, and men were coming over to it even from the faction of Donatus, in proportion as each learned more, and became more willing, and more master of his own actions; although, at the same time, among the Donatists herds of abandoned men were disturbing the peace of the innocent for one reason or another in the spirit of the most reckless madness. What master was there who was not compelled to live in dread of his own servant, if he had put himself under the guardianship of the Donatists? Who dared even threaten one who sought his ruin with punishment? Who dared to exact payment of a debt from one who consumed his stores, or from any debtor whatsoever, that sought their assistance or protection? Under the threat of beating, and burning, and immediate death, all documents compromising the worst of slaves were destroyed,

that they might depart in freedom. Notes of hand that had been extracted from debtors were returned to them. Any one who had shown a contempt for their hard words were compelled by harder blows to do what they desired. The houses of innocent persons who had offended them were either razed to the ground or burned. Certain heads of families of honourable parentage, and brought up with a good education, were carried away half dead after their deeds of violence, or bound to the mill, and compelled by blows to turn it round, after the fashion of the meanest beasts of burden. For what assistance from the laws rendered by the civil powers was ever of any avail against them? What official ever ventured so much as to breathe in their presence? What agents ever exacted payment of a debt which they had been unwilling to discharge? Who ever endeavoured to avenge those who were put to death in their massacres? Except, indeed, that their own madness took revenge on them, when some, by provoking against themselves the swords of men, whom they obliged to kill them under fear of instant death, others by throwing themselves over sundry precipices, others by water, others by fire, gave themselves over on the several occasions to a voluntary death, and gave up their lives as offerings to the dead by punishments inflicted with their own hands upon themselves.—J. R. King, *Anti-Donatist Writings of St. Augustine*, 491–3.

No. 180.—The Teaching attributed to Pelagius and Cælestius

From Augustine, *De gestis Pelagii* [417], § 23 (*Op.* x. 204; *P.L.* xliv. 333 *sq.*).

[§ 23] Then follow sundry statements charged against Pelagius, which are said to be found among the opinions of his disciple Cælestius: how that "Adam was created subject to death, and that he must have died whether he had sinned or not; that Adam's sin hurt only himself and not the human race; that the Law no less than the Gospel leads us to the Kingdom [of heaven]; that there were sinless men previous to the coming of Christ; that new-born infants are in the same condition as Adam was before he

fell; that the entire human race does not, on the one hand, die owing to Adam's death and transgression, nor, on the other hand, does the whole human race rise again through the resurrection of Christ." . . . Sundry other points of error were next alleged against him, connected with the mention of my own name. They had been transmitted to me from Sicily. . . . These are the errors referred to: "That a man is able to live without sin if he likes. That infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life. That rich men, even if they are baptized, unless they renounce and give up all, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned to them; neither can they possess the Kingdom of God."—*The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St Augustine*, i. 385 *sq.*: tr. P. Holmes.

No. 181.—The Condemnation of Pelagius and Cælestius, in the West, 418

From Augustine, *De peccato originali*, § 18 (*Op.* x. 260 *sq.*; *P.L.* xliv. 394).

[§18] This being the case, you of course feel that Episcopal Councils,[1] and the Apostolic See and the whole Church of Rome,[2] and the Roman Empire[3] itself, which, by God's gracious favour has become Christian, has been most righteously moved against the authors of this wicked error, until they repent and escape from the snares of the devil. For who can tell whether God may not give them repentance to discover, and acknowledge, and even declare His truth, and to condemn their own truly damnable error? But whatever may be the bent of their own will, we cannot doubt that the merciful kindness of the Lord has sought the good of many persons[4] who followed them, for no other reason than because they saw them joining in communion with the Catholic Church.—*The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St. Augustine*, ii. 62: tr. P. Holmes.

[1] Council of Carthage, May 1, 418: see No. 134

[2] Zosimus, *Epistola Tractoria:* Aug., *Ep.* cxc. § 23 (*Op.* ii.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 863).

[3] Honorius: *Rescript* of April 30, 418, No. 133.

[4] *sc.* by their conversion.

No. 182.—Christianity and War

From Augustine, *De civitate Dei* [413–26], i. § 7 (*Op.* vii. 7; *P.L.* xli. 19 *sq.*).

[§ 7] All the spoiling then which Rome was exposed to in the recent calamity [1]—all the slaughter, plundering, burning and misery—was the result of the custom of war. But what was novel was that savage barbarians showed themselves in so gentle a guise that the largest churches were chosen and set apart for the purpose of being filled with the people to whom quarter was given, and that in them none were slain, from them none forcibly dragged; that into them many were led by their relenting enemies to be set at liberty, and that from them none were led into slavery by merciless foes. Whoever does not see that this is to be attributed to the name of Christ is blind; whoever sees this, and gives no praise, is ungrateful: whoever hinders any one from praising it, is mad. Far be it from any prudent man to impute this clemency to the barbarians. Their fierce and bloody minds were awed, and bridled, and marvellously tempered by Him who so long before said by His prophet, "I will visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquities with stripes; nevertheless, my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from them." [2]—*The City of God*, i. 9 *sq.*: tr. M. Dods.

No. 183.—Augustine's Use of the term "Canonical"

From Augustine, *De civitate Dei* xviii. § 36 (*Op.* vii. 519; *P.L.* xli. 596).

[§ 36] After these three prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, during the same period of the liberation of the people from the Babylonian servitude, Esdras also wrote, who is historical rather than prophetical, as is also the book called Esther, which is found to relate, for the praise of God, events not far from those times; unless perhaps Esdras is to be understood as prophesying of Christ in that passage where, on a question having arisen among certain young men as to what is the strongest thing, when one had

[1] Its capture by Alaric, 410. [2] Ps. lxxxix. 32.

said kings, another wine, the third women who for the most part rule kings, yet that same third youth demonstrated that the truth is victorious over all. For by consulting the Gospel we learn that Christ is the truth. From this time, when the Temple was rebuilt, down to the time of Aristobulus, the Jews had not kings but princes; and the reckoning of their dates is found, not in the Holy Scriptures which are called canonical, but in others among which are also the books of the Maccabees. These are held as canonical not by the Jews, but by the Church, on account of the extreme and wonderful sufferings of certain martyrs who, before Christ had come in the flesh, contended for the law of God even unto death, and endured most grievous and horrible evils—*The City of God*, ii. 262 *sq.*: tr. M. Dods.

No. 184.—Augustine on the Origin of Evil; Aug. 28–9, 392

From Augustine, *Retractationes* [426–7], I. xvi. § 1 (*Op.* i. 27; *P.L.* xxxii. 612).

[§ 1] About that period in my presbyterate, I held a disputation with one Fortunatus, a presbyter of the Manichæans, who had lived for some time at Hippo, and had perverted so many that, for their sakes, it pleased him to make his home there. This disputation was taken down by notaries, as we replied to each other, just as Minutes are made: with a date, and the name of the Consul. We have taken care to have it placed on record and brought together in the form of a book.[1] The question there propounded is, Whence is evil? And whereas I maintain that the evil in man arises out of his voluntary free-will, my opponent endeavours to show that the nature of evil is co-eternal with God. Next day, however, he at length confessed that he found nothing to say against my contention. He did not, indeed, become a Catholic; but he left Hippo.—K.

[1] *Acta contra Fortunatum Manichæum*, 392.

No. 185.—Augustine's Early Semi-Pelagianism, *c.* 394

From Augustine, *Retractationes* [426–7], I. xxiii. §§ 1–3 (*Op.* i. 34 *sq.*; *P.L.* xxxii. 621).

[§ 1] When I was still a presbyter, it happened that some of us were together at Carthage, and were reading the Epistle of the Apostle to the Romans. I was asked some questions by the brethren. I answered them as well as I could; and they expressed a wish that what I said should not merely be uttered orally but be written down.[1] . . .

[§ 2] In the course of my argument as to what God elected in the one who was "not yet born" to whom He said, "the elder shall serve the younger," and as to what He found in the elder also before his birth which led Him to say, "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated,"[2] I was led to adopt this line of reasoning and to say: God therefore did not, by foreknowledge, elect a man's works which He himself was to bestow upon him; but by foreknowledge He elected his faith in such a way that, when He foreknew that he would believe in Him, He elected him as one to whom He would give His Holy Spirit in order that, by good works, he might attain to eternal life. I had not then inquired with sufficient care; nor had I yet discovered what is the nature of "the election of grace," about which the same Apostle says, "the remnant" were saved "according to the election of grace."[3] This, however, is not grace if any merit precede it. That which is given would then be not according to grace, but according to debt, and rather repaid to merit than bestowed freely.

I then went on to say: For the same Apostle says, "It is the same God who worketh all things in all."[4] Nowhere, however, is it said, It is God who believeth all things in all: and I then added, That we believe is our affair; that we do well is His affair, who gives to believers His Holy Spirit. I should certainly not have said this, if I had known that "faith" itself is found among the gifts of God, which are

[1] *Expositio quarumdam propositionum ex Ep. ad Rom.*, 394, see §§ 60–2.

[2] Rom. ix. 13. [3] Rom. xi. 5. [4] 1 Cor. xii. 6.

given "by the same Spirit!"[1] Both indeed are our affair, because of our free-will. Both, however, are given by the Spirit of faith and love. Not love only: but, as it is written, "love with faith from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ."[2]

[§ 3] And, whereas I said a little lower down, Our part is to believe and to will: His part to give, to those who believe and are willing, the power of doing well through the Holy Spirit, "by whom the love [of God] hath been shed abroad in our hearts,"[3] this, of course, is true, but the same principle applies. Both are His affair, because He Himself prepares the will; and both are our affair, since it is not done except of our free-will.

Further, as to what I went on to say, that we cannot even will, unless we are called; and when, after being called, our will and our running have no effect unless God give strength to us as we run, and lead us whither He calls; adding, It is clear then that it is "neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy,"[4] that we do well—all this is most true. But I hardly said enough about that calling which takes place according to "the purpose of God"; for such is not the calling of all who are called, but only of the elect. So when I went on to add, As then, in those whom God elects it is not works, but faith, that is the beginning of meriting that by the gift of God they may do well, so also, in them whom He condemns, lack of faith and religion are the beginning of meriting punishment, that by means of such punishment they may do ill—I said what was most true; but I had neither thought of asking, still less had I said, that the merit of faith was itself the gift of God.—K.

No. 186.—Semi-Pelagianism, 427

From Augustine, *Ep.* ccxvii. §§ 1, 2, 30 (*Op.* ii. 799 *sq.*, 809; *P.L.* xxxiii. 978 *sq.*, 989).

[§ 1] When I was told what was not good about you, I asked God, and until I am told what is good, I keep on asking Him that you may not take my letters scornfully,

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 8.
[2] Ephes. vi. 23.
[3] Rom. v. 5.
[4] Rom. ix. 16.

but read them to your well-being. If He hears this prayer of mine for you, He also grants me to offer thanksgiving on your behalf. And if I obtain this request, undoubtedly you will not take exception to this opening of my letter. What I pray for you is that you may be of right faith. Now if you do not disagree with my making this prayer for those who are dear to me, if you acknowledge that this is a Christian prayer; if you, in your turn, remember that you pray after this fashion for those who are dear to you, or acknowledge that you ought so to pray, then how can you say what I am told you say: that our having a right belief in God and accepting the Gospel is not the gift of God, but is ours of ourselves, *i. e.* of our own will, which He did not work for us in our hearts? And further, when the question is put to you, What then of that which the Apostle says, God worketh in us both to will and to do? you reply: Yes—by His Law or by His Scriptures, which we read or hear, God works in us in order that we may will; but our consenting or refusing to consent to them is our affair; so that, if we will, the thing is done; but, if we refuse, we make the working of God within us of no avail. He works, you say, so far as it rests with Him that we should will, by making His words known to us; but, if we refuse our assent to them, we bring it about that His working in us is to no profit. Now if this is what you say, you certainly take exception to our prayers.

[§ 2] Then say quite frankly that, for those to whom we preach the Gospel, we ought not to pray that they may believe, but simply to preach to them. Put forth your arguments against the prayers of the Church;[1] and, when you hear the priest of God at His altar exhorting the people to pray for the unbelieving that God may convert them to the faith, and for the catechumens that He may inspire them with a longing for regeneration, and for the faithful that in that which they have begun to be they may by the gift of God persevere, make a mock at these pious petitions and say that you do not do what he exhorts you to do, *i. e.* you do not ask God for the unbelieving that He would make

[1] The reference is to the Intercessions of Good Friday (see the Roman Missal), of which the three Collects for that day in the Prayer Book are a relic.

them believers, because this is no benefit conferred by the divine compassion, but the business of the human will. And, as a man of learning in the church of Carthage, condemn the very book of the most blessed Cyprian *On the Lord's Prayer;* for, when that famous doctor was expounding it, he showed that those things are to be asked of God the Father which you say come to a man from a man, *i. e.* from himself.

[§ 30] Wherefore, in order that I may bring this discourse at last to a close, if you say that we ought not to pray that those who refuse to believe may be willing to believe; if you say that we ought not to render thanks to God because those are now willing to believe who once refused to believe, I must take another course with you, so that you may not err after this fashion, or, if you persist in your error, may not bring others to err with you. If, however, as I prefer to think in your case, you think and agree that we ought, as we are wont, to pray to God for those who refuse to believe that they may be willing to believe, and for those who oppose and gainsay His law and doctrine that they may believe and follow it; if you think and agree that we also ought, as we are wont, to render thanks to God for such when they are converted to His law and doctrine and become willing instead of unwilling, then you ought, without doubt, to confess that the wills of men are prevented[1] by the grace of God (*voluntates hominum Dei gratia præveniri*), and that God causes them to will the good which they refused—the God whom we ask so to cause them, and to whom we know it meet and right to render thanks when He has caused them. The Lord give thee understanding in all things, my lord and brother.—K.

[1] *i. e.* "started," "have the first impulse given to them"; but it is best to keep "prevent" because this is the origin of the term "prevenient" grace. For "prevent" = "start"; cf. Collect for Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity, and "Prevent us, O Lord," where it means more than "go before," "precede" or "anticipate"; being followed, as usual, by "further us": "prevenient" by "co-operating" grace.

No. 187.—Irresistible Grace

From Augustine, *De correptione et gratia* [427], §§ 34, 38 (*Op.* x. 769, 771; *P.L.* xliv. 936–9).

[§ 34] Moreover, the helps themselves are to be distinguished. The assistance without which a thing does not come to pass (*adjutorium sine quo non fit*) is one thing, and the assistance with which a thing comes to pass (*adjutorium quo fit*) is another. For without food we cannot live; and yet although food should be at hand, it would not cause a man to live who should will to die. Therefore the aid of food is that without which it does not come to pass that we live, not that with which it comes to pass that we live. But indeed when the blessedness which a man has not is given him, he becomes continually blessed. For the aid is not only that without which that does not happen, but also with which that does happen for the sake of which it is given. Wherefore this is an assistance both by which it comes to pass, and without which it does not come to pass; because, on the one hand, if blessedness should be given to a man, he becomes continually blessed; and, on the other, if it should never be given, he will never be so. But food does not of necessity cause a man to live, and yet without it he cannot live. Therefore, to the first man, who, in that [condition of] good in which he had been made upright, had received the ability not to sin [*posse non peccare*], the ability not to die [*posse non mori*], the ability not to forsake that very [condition of] good, was given the aid of perseverance; not that by it, it might come to pass that he should persevere, but because without it he could not of free-will persevere. But now to the saints predestinated to the kingdom of God by God's grace, the aid of perseverance that is given is not such as the former, but such that to them perseverance itself is bestowed; not only so that without that gift they cannot persevere, but, moreover, so that by means of this gift they cannot help persevering (*non nisi perseverantes sint*). . . .

[§ 38] And thus God willed that His saints should not—even concerning perseverance itself in goodness—glory in their own strength, but in Himself, who not only gives

them aid such as He gave to the first man, without which they cannot persevere if they will, but in them He also causes the will; that since they will not persevere unless they both can and will, both the capability and the will to persevere should be bestowed on them by the liberality of divine grace. Because by the Holy Spirit their will is so much enkindled, that they therefore *can*, because they so *will*, they therefore so *will*, because God works in them to *will*. For if in so much weakness of this life (in which weakness, however, for the sake of checking pride, strength behoved to be perfected) their own will should be left to themselves, that they might, if they willed, continue in the help of God, without which they could not persevere, and God should not work in them to will in the midst of so many and so great weaknesses, their will itself would give way, and they would not be able to persevere, for the reason that failing from infirmity they would not will, or in the weakness of will they would not so will that they might be able. Therefore aid was brought to the infirmity of human will, so that it might be unchangeably and invincibly influenced by divine grace; and thus, although weak, it still might not fail, nor be overcome by any adversity. Thus it happened that man's will, weak and incapable, in good as yet small, persevered by God's strength; while the will of the first man, strong and healthful, having the power of free choice, did not persevere in a greater good: because, although God's help was not wanting, without which it could not persevere if it would, yet it was not such a help as that by which God would work in man to *will*. Certainly to the strongest He yielded and permitted to do what He *willed*; to those that were weak He reserved that by His own gift they should most invincibly *will* what is good, and most invincibly refuse to forsake this.—*Anti-Pelagian Works of St. Augustine*, iii. 102–7: tr. P. Holmes.

No. 188.—Augustine's Predestinarianism, 428

From Augustine, *De dono perseverantiæ*, § 35 (*Op.* x. 839 *sq.*; *P.L.* xlv. 1014).

[§ 35] Will any man dare to say that God did not foreknow those to whom He would give to believe, or whom

He would give to His Son, that of them He should lose none? And, certainly, if He foreknew these things, He as certainly foreknew His own kindness, wherewith He condescends to deliver us. This is the predestination of the saints—nothing else; to wit, the foreknowledge and the preparation of God's kindnesses, whereby they are most certainly delivered, whoever they are that are delivered. But where are the rest left by the righteous divine judgment except in the mass of ruin where the Tyrians and the Sidonians were left? who, moreover, might have believed if they had seen Christ's wonderful miracles. But since it was not given to them to believe, the means of believing also was denied them. From which fact it appears that some have in their understanding itself a naturally divine gift of intelligence, by which they may be moved to the faith, if they either hear the words or behold the signs fitted for their minds; and yet if, in the more lofty judgment of God, they are not by the predestination of grace separated from the mass of perdition, neither those very divine words nor deeds are applied to them by which they might believe if only they heard or saw such things. Moreover, in the same mass of ruin the Jews were left, because they could not believe such great and eminent mighty works as were done in their sight. For the gospel has not been silent about the reason why they could not believe, since it says: "But though He had done such great miracles before them, yet they believed not on Him; that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake,[1] Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" And therefore they could not believe because that Esaias said again,[2] "He hath blinded their eyes and hath hardened their heart, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them."[3] Therefore the eyes of the Tyrians and Sidonians were not so blinded nor was their heart so hardened, since they would have believed if they had seen such mighty works as the Jews saw. But it did not do them any good that they were able to believe, because they were not predestinated by Him whose judgments are inscrutable

[1] Isa. liii. 1. [2] Isa. vi. 10. [3] John. xii. 37 *sqq.*

and His ways past finding out. Neither would it have been a hindrance to them that they could not believe, if they had been so predestinated as that God should illuminate those blind eyes, and should will to take away the stony heart from those hardened ones. . . . They hear these things and do them to whom it is given: but they do them not, whether they hear or do not hear, to whom it is not given. —*The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St. Augustine*, iii. 203 *sq.*: tr. P. Holmes.

No. 189.—Augustine's Account of Pelagianism, 428

From Augustine, *De Hæresibus*, § 88 (*Op.* viii. 25 *sq.*; *P.L.* xlii. 47 *sq.*).

[§ 88] The Pelagian heresy, at this present time the most recent of all, owes its rise to the monk Pelagius. Cælestius followed him so closely as his teacher, that their adherents are also called Cælestians. These men are such opponents of the grace of God . . . that without it, as they believe, man can do all the commandments of God. But, if this were true, God would evidently have said in vain, "Without me, ye can do nothing." After a time, Pelagius was accused by the brethren of ascribing nothing to the grace of God for the purpose of keeping His commandments. He admitted the charge so far as, not indeed to put grace before free-will, but to supplant it by calculated cunning, and to say that it was given to men in order that what they are commanded to do by their free-will they may the *more easily* be able to accomplish with the help of grace. Of course, by saying "the more easily be able" he wished it to be believed that, though with more difficulty, still men are able without grace to do the commandments of God. That grace, however, without which we cannot do anything that is good, they say consists simply in free-will, which, without any preceding merits of ours, our nature received from Him: God merely assisting us by His law and doctrine in order that we may learn what to do and what we ought to hope for, not in order that, by the gift of His Spirit, we may do what we have learned ought to be done. They confess in this way there is given to us divine knowledge

whereby ignorance is dispelled, but they deny that love is given to us whereby we may lead a religious life: so that whereas knowledge, which, without love puffeth up, is the gift of God, love itself, which edifieth so that knowledge should not puff up, is not the gift of God. They empty of their meaning the prayers which the Church makes: whether for the unbelieving and those that refuse the doctrine of God, that they may return to God; or for the faithful, that faith may be increased in them and that they may persevere therein. These things, they argue, a man does not receive from God, but from himself; and they say that the grace of God, whereby we are delivered from irreligion, is given us according to our merits. This [doctrine], indeed, Pelagius, at his trial before the bishops in Palestine, when he was afraid of being condemned, was forced to condemn; but, in his later writings, he is found to teach it. They even go so far as to say that the life of the righteous in this world has no sin, and thus the Church of Christ in this mortal state is so perfected as to be altogether "without spot or wrinkle." As if it were not the Church of Christ throughout the world which cries to God, "Forgive us our trespasses." They also deny that infants, born according to Adam after the flesh, contract by their first [*sc.* natural] birth the infection of the ancient death. So they assert that they are born without any bond of original sin: with the result, of course, that there is in them nothing that has to be released at their Second [or New] Birth. The reason why they are baptized is that by their New Birth they may be adopted and admitted into the kingdom of God, carried from good to better—not, by that renewal, delivered from any evil of ancient entail. For even if they are not baptized, they promise them eternal life and bliss of a sort, though not within the kingdom of God. Adam also himself, they say, even if he had not sinned, would have undergone bodily death; though, if he so died, it would have been due not to the deserts of his guilt, but to the conditions of his nature. Several other things are charged against them. But these are especially the points on which it may be understood how all, or nearly all, the rest depend.—K.

No. 190.—A Bishop's Duty in Persecution, 428–9

From Augustine, *Ep.* ccxxviii. §§ 1, 2, 5, 14 (*Op.* ii. 830–5; *P.L.* xxxiii. 1013–9), to Honoratus, Bishop of Thiaba in Mauretania.

[§ 1] I thought that by sending to your Grace a copy of the letter which I wrote to our brother and co-bishop Quodvultdeus, I had earned exemption from the burden which you have imposed upon me, by asking my advice as to what you ought to do in the midst of the dangers which have befallen us in these times. For although I wrote briefly, I think that I did not pass over anything that was necessary either to be said by me or heard by my questions in correspondence upon the subject; for I said that, on the one hand, those who desire to remove, if they can, to fortified places are not to be forbidden to do so; and, on the other hand, we ought not to break the ties by which the love of Christ has bound us as ministers not to forsake the churches which it is our duty to serve. The words which I used in the letter referred to were: "Therefore, however small may be the congregation of God's people among whom we are, if our ministry is so necessary to them that it is a clear duty not to withdraw it from them, it remains for us to say to the Lord: 'Be thou to us a God of defence, and a strong fortress.'"[1]

[§ 2] But this counsel does not commend itself to you, because, as you say in your letter, it does not become us to endeavour to act in opposition to the precept or example of the Lord, admonishing us that we should flee from one city to another. We remember, indeed, the words of the Lord, "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another"; [2] but who can believe that the Lord wished this to be done in cases in which the flocks which He purchased with His own blood are by the desertion of their pastors left without that necessary ministry which is indispensable to their life? Did Christ do this Himself when, carried by His parents, He fled into Egypt in His infancy? No: for He had not then gathered churches which we could affirm to have been deserted by Him. . . . Let those, therefore, who are servants of Christ, His ministers in word and sacrament, do

[1] Ps. xxxi. 3 [LXX]. [2] Matt. x. 23.

what He has commanded or permitted. When any of them is specially sought for by persecutors, let him by all means flee from one city to another, provided that the Church is not hereby deserted, but that others, who are not specially sought after, remain to supply spiritual food to their fellow-servants, whom they know to be unable otherwise to maintain spiritual life. When, however, the danger of all—bishops, clergy and laity—is alike, let not those who depend upon the aid of others be deserted by those on whom they depend. In that case, either let all remove together to fortified places, or let those who must remain be not deserted by those through whom, in things pertaining to the Church, their necessities must be provided for; and so let them share life in common, or share in common that which the Father of their family appoints them to suffer.

[§ 5] What then shall we say to the position which you thus state in your former Epistle: "I do not see what good we can do to ourselves or to the people by continuing to remain in the churches, except to see before our eyes men slain, women outraged, churches burned, ourselves expiring and torments applied in order to extort from us what we do not possess?" God is powerful to hear the prayers of His children, and to avert those things which they fear; and we ought not, on account of evils that are uncertain, to make up our minds absolutely to the desertion of that ministry, without which the people must certainly suffer ruin, not in the affairs of this life, but of that other life which ought to be cared for with incomparably greater diligence and solicitude. For if those evils which are apprehended, as possibly visiting the places in which we are, were certain, all those for whose sake it was our duty to remain would take flight before us, and would thus exempt us from the necessity of remaining; for no one says that ministers are under obligation to remain in any place where none remain to whom their ministry is necessary. In this way some holy bishops fled from Spain when their congregations had, before their flight, been annihilated, the members having either fled, or died by the sword, or perished in the siege of their towns, or gone into captivity; but many more of the bishops of that country remained in the midst of these abounding dangers, because those for whose sakes

they remained were still remaining there. And if some have abandoned their flocks, this is what we say ought not to have been done; for they were not taught to do so by divine authority, but were, through human infirmity, either deceived by an error or overcome by fear.

[§ 14] Whoever then flees from danger in circumstances in which the Church is not deprived, through his flight, of necessary service, is doing that which the Lord has commanded or permitted. But the minister who flees when the consequence of his flight is the withdrawal from Christ's flock of that nourishment by which its spiritual life is sustained, is an "hireling who seeth the wolf coming and fleeth because he careth not for the sheep."—*Letters of St. Augustine*, ii. 425–35: tr. J. G. Cunningham.

No. 191.—The Invocation at the Eucharist

From Nilus [†430], *Epp.* i. xliv. (*Op.* 21; *P.G.* lxxix. 104).

Paper that is made of papyrus and paste is called simple paper; but after it has received the signature of the Emperor it is called, as every one knows, a Sacred Missive. After the same manner you should conceive of the divine mysteries. Before the words of the priest and the descent of the Spirit, the elements set forth are mere bread and ordinary wine; but, after the awe-inspiring invocations and the coming of the adorable, life-giving and good Spirit, the elements that are placed upon the Holy Table are no longer mere bread and ordinary wine, but the precious and immaculate body and blood of Christ the God of all, which cleanse from all defilement those who receive them with fear and heartfelt desire.—K.

No. 192.—The Dress of the Clergy in Church, in the West, 428

From Cælestine, Bishop of Rome, 422–†32, *Ep.* iv. [July 26, 428], § 2 (*P.L.* l. 430 *sq.*), to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne.

[§ 2] We are informed that certain priests of the Lord are more devoted to superstitious usages than to purity of mind and faith. It is, however, scarcely a matter for sur-

prise if those behave in a manner contrary to the customs of the Church who have not grown up in the Church, but have come from observances of another kind, and brought with them into the Church ways which they had in another manner of life.[1] They dress in a cloak (*pallium*) and wear a girdle about their loins, in the belief that they will best fulfil the faith of Scripture not spiritually, but literally. If these precepts were given in order to be kept literally, why do they not likewise do what follows, and hold burning lights in their hands, and a staff as well ?[2] These precepts have their inner significance ; and, to those who have understanding, are so clear as to be kept rather according to their proper meaning. By the girding of the loins is indicated chastity ; by the staff, pastoral rule ; by the lights burning, the glow of good works : whereof it is said, "Let your works shine."[3] It is all very well, perhaps, for those to retain these observances, following custom rather than common sense, who live in out-of-the-way places and dwell far from the rest of mankind. Why should this dress be adopted in the churches of Gaul, so that the custom of many years and of celebrated bishops be changed in favour of a different dress ? We clergy are to be distinguished from the people and from other men by our teaching, not by our vesture, by our lives, and not by our dress, by the purity of our hearts and not by observances.—K.

No. 193.—The Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius, February 430

From Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, 412–†44, *Ep.* iv. (*Op.* x. 22–5 ; *P.G.* lxxvii. 44–50).

Certain persons, as I hear, are making free with my reputation before your Holiness, and that repeatedly, watching the occasion especially when councils are being held, thinking, it may be, to gratify you by so doing. And they utter ill-advised speeches to my disadvantage, though they have suffered no wrong at my hands, except that they have been reprehended, and that deservedly—one for having defrauded the blind and the poor, another for having drawn

[1] The Pope is speaking of monks who became bishops.
[2] Luke xii. 35. [3] Matt. v. 16.

his sword upon his mother, and a third for having stolen money, with a maid-servant for an accomplice, and as having always borne such a character as no one would wish his worst enemy to bear.

But I make no great account of these matters lest I should stretch the measure of my littleness beyond my Lord and Master, or even beyond the Fathers. For it is impossible to escape the perverseness of bad men, however one may order one's life. But they, having their mouth full of cursing and bitterness, shall give account to the Judge of all.

But I return to what specially concerns myself, and admonish thee as a brother in the Lord, to use all possible circumspection in teaching the people, and in setting forth the doctrine of the faith, bearing in mind that to offend even one of these little ones who believe in Christ, subjects the person guilty of it to intolerable punishment. And if so great numbers of persons have been thus injured how do we not need all possible care and study that we may do away the offences, and rightly expound the doctrine of the faith to those who are seeking the truth! And in this we shall succeed, if, betaking ourselves to the statements of the holy Fathers, we are careful to esteem them highly, and, proving ourselves whether we be in the faith, as it is written, thoroughly conform our own beliefs to their sound and unexceptionable doctrines.

The holy and great Council then affirmed that the very "only-begotten Son," naturally "begotten of the Father," "very God of very God," "Light of Light," by whom the Father made all things, "came down, became incarnate. and was made man, suffered, rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven." These words and these formulæ it behoves us also to adhere to, considering what is meant when it is said that the Word which is of God "became incarnate and was made man."

For we do not affirm that the nature of the Word underwent a change and became flesh, or that it was transformed into a whole or perfect man consisting of soul and body; but we say that the Word, having in an ineffable and inconceivable manner personally united to Himself flesh instinct with a living soul, became man and was called the

Son of Man, yet not of mere will or favour, nor again by the simple taking to Himself of a person (*i. e.* of a human person to His divine person), and that while the natures which were brought together into this true unity were diverse there was of both one Christ and one Son: not as though the diverseness of the natures were done away by this union, but rather the Godhead and Manhood completed for us the one Lord and Christ and Son by their unutterable and unspeakable concurrence and unity. And thus, although He subsisted and was begotten of the Father before the worlds, He is spoken of as having been born also after the flesh of a woman: not that His divine nature had its beginning of existence in the holy Virgin, or needed of necessity on its own account a second generation after its generation from the Father, for it is foolish and absurd to say that He who subsisted before all worlds, and was co-eternal with the Father, stood in need of a second beginning of existence, but forasmuch as the Word having "for us and for our salvation," personally united to Himself human nature, came forth of a woman, for this reason He is said to have been born after the flesh. For He was not first born an ordinary man of the holy Virgin, and then the Word descended upon Him, but having been made one with the flesh from the very womb itself, He is said to have submitted to a birth according to the flesh, as appropriating and making His own the birth of His own flesh.

In like manner we say that He "suffered" and "rose again." Not as though God the Word suffered in His own divine nature either stripes or the piercing of nails, or the other wounds inflicted on Him, for the Godhead is impassible because It is incorporeal. But forasmuch as that which had become His own body suffered these things, therefore again He Himself is said to have suffered them for us. For the Impassible was in the suffering body.

So likewise of His death. For the Word of God is by nature both incorruptible, and Life, and Life-giving, but forasmuch as His own body by the grace of God, as Paul says, tasted death for every man, therefore once more He Himself is said to have suffered death for us. Not as though He experienced death as regards His own (divine)

nature—to say or hold which is madness—but that, as I said just now, His flesh tasted death.

So likewise when His flesh was raised, the resurrection again is spoken of as His resurrection, not as though He had seen corruption, God forbid, but because once more it was His own body that was raised.

Thus we confess one Christ and Lord, not as worshipping a man conjointly with the Word, that there may not through this phrase "conjointly" be insinuated the semblance of division (as though we were dividing the one Christ into two Persons)—but as worshipping one and the same Person, because the body of the Lord is not alien from the Lord, with which body also He sits with the Father Himself: not again as though two sons do sit with the Father, but one united to His own flesh. But if we reject this hypostatic union either as impossible or unmeet, we fall into the error of making two sons. For in that case we must needs distinguish and speak of the man severally (the human person) dignified with the appellation of Son, and again of the Word which is of God severally (the divine Person) possessing naturally the Sonship, both name and thing; (*i. e.* if we reject a union of substances or natures in the one Person, we make two several Sons, and must perforce distinguish—speaking of the One, as merely dignified with the title of Son, the other as Son in reality as well as in name).

We must not then divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. To hold this will nowise contribute to soundness of faith, even though some make a show of acknowledging a union of persons. For Scripture does not say that The Word united to Himself the person of a man, but that "He became flesh." But this expression "the Word became flesh" is nothing else than that He became partaker of flesh and blood, just as we do, and made our body His own, and was born a man of a woman, not casting aside the being God, and the having been begotten of God the Father, but even when taking to Himself flesh still remaining what He was. This is the doctrine which strict orthodoxy everywhere prescribes (literally, gives the place of honour to). Thus shall we find the holy Fathers to have held. So did they make bold to call the holy Virgin "the Mother of God." Not as though the nature of the Word or His

Godhead had its beginning from the holy Virgin, but forasmuch as His holy Body, endued with a rational soul, was born of her, to which Body also the Word was personally united (*i.e.* the two substances united in one Person, in opposition to the union of two Persons), on this account He is said to have been born after the flesh.

Thus, writing out of the love which I have in Christ, I entreat thee as a brother, and charge thee before Christ and the elect angels, to hold and teach these things with us, that the peace of the Churches may be preserved, and that the bond of harmony and love between the priests of God may remain unbroken.—C. A. Heurtley, *On the Faith and the Creed*, 156–61.

No. 194.—The Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius, November 430

From Cyril, *Ep.* xvii. (*Op.* x. 67–77; *P.G.* lxxvii. 105–22).

I. When our Saviour says in plain terms, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me," what should be our feelings who are asked by thy religiousness to love thee more than Christ, our common Saviour? Who shall be able to succour us in the day of judgment, or what apology shall we find for our so long silence under thy blasphemies against Him? If indeed it were only thyself whom thou wast injuring in holding and teaching such things, it would be of less consequence, but seeing that thou hast given offence to the universal Church, and hast cast the leaven of a novel and strange heresy among the lay people, and not the lay people of Constantinople only (for copies of thy sermons have been circulated everywhere), what satisfactory account can any longer be given of our silence, or how are we not bound to remember Christ's words, "Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I am not come to send peace but a sword: for I am come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother." For when the faith is being tampered with, perish reverence for parents, as a thing unseasonable and pregnant with mischief, and let the law of natural affection to children and brethren be set

aside, and let religious men count death better than life, that, as it is written, they may obtain a better resurrection.

II. Take notice then that in conjunction with the holy synod which was assembled in the elder Rome, under the presidency of our most pious and religious fellow-minister, Bishop Celestine, we conjure and counsel thee, in this third letter also, to abstain from these mischievous and perverse doctrines, which thou dost both hold and teach, and to adopt in place of them the orthodox faith delivered to the Churches from the beginning by the holy Apostles and Evangelists, who were both eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word. And unless thou do this by the time prescribed in the Epistle of our aforementioned, most pious and religious brother and fellow-minister, Celestine, bishop of the Church of the Romans, know that thou hast neither part nor lot with us, nor place nor account among the priests and bishops of God. For it is impossible that we should bear to see the Churches thus thrown into confusion, and the lay people scandalized, and the orthodox faith set aside, and the flocks scattered abroad by thee who oughtest rather to preserve them in safety, if thou wert, as we, a lover of sound doctrine, treading in the religious footsteps of the holy Fathers. But with all, both laity and clergy, who have been excommunicated or deposed for faith's sake by thy religiousness, we all are in communion. For it is not just that those who hold the true faith should be wronged by thy sentence, for having rightly withstood thee. For this same thing thou didst signify in thy letter to our most holy fellow-bishop Celestine, bishop of the elder Rome.

But it will not be enough for thee merely to join with us in acknowledging the Symbol of the faith, which was sometime put forth in the Holy Ghost by the holy and great Council assembled at Nicæa. For thou hast put a wrong sense and interpretation upon it, or rather thou hast wrested its meaning even while acknowledging it verbally in the letter. But it behoved thee, if thou wert consistent, to confess in writing and on oath, that thou dost anathematize those abominable and profane doctrines of thine, and will hold and teach what we all do—the bishops and doctors and rulers of the people throughout both East and West. Moreover the holy synod held at Rome, and we all

acquiesce in the Epistle written to thy religiousness by the Church of the Alexandrians, as orthodox and unexceptionable. And we have subjoined to this letter of ours a statement of what it behoves thee to hold and to teach, and of what to hold aloof from. For this is the faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church with which all the orthodox bishops throughout both East and West are in agreement.

III. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God,

Begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father,

God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God,

Begotten not made,

Of one substance with the Father,

By Whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth,

Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and became incarnate, and was made man,

He suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead;

And in the Holy Ghost.

But those who say, There was when the Son of God was not, and before He was begotten He was not, and He came into being from things that are not, or that He is of another substance or essence, and that He is mutable or alterable, —these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

Following in every particular the confessions of the holy Fathers, which they have drawn up under the guidance of the Holy Spirit speaking in them, and keeping close to the meaning which they had in view, and journeying, so to speak, along the king's highway, we affirm that the very only-begotten Word of God, begotten of the very substance of the Father, very God of very God, Light of Light, by Whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth, for our salvation came down, and of His condescension emptied Himself, and became incarnate and was made man, that is, having taken flesh of the Holy Virgin, and made it His own from the womb, He vouchsafed to be born as we, and proceeded forth, a man from a woman, not

ceasing to be what He was, but even when He became man by taking upon Him flesh and blood, still continuing what He was,--God in nature and truth. Neither do we say that the flesh was converted into the divine nature, nor surely that the ineffable nature of God the Word was debased and changed into the nature of flesh, for it is unchangeable and unalterable, ever continuing altogether the same according to the Scriptures: but we say that the Son of God, while visible to the eyes, and a babe and in swaddling clothes, and still at the breast of His Virgin Mother, filled all creation as God, and was seated with His Father. For the divine nature is without quantity and without magnitude and without limit.

IV. Confessing then the personal union of the Word with the flesh, we worship one Son and Lord, Jesus Christ, neither parting and sundering man and God, as though they were connected with one another by a unity of dignity and authority (for this were vain babbling and nothing else), nor surely calling the Word of God Christ in one sense, and in like manner Him Who is of the woman Christ in another sense; but knowing only one Christ, the Word which is of God the Father with His own flesh. For then (*i. e.* when He took flesh) He was anointed with us after the fashion of man, *i. e.* as man, while yet to those who are worthy to receive It Himself gives the Holy Spirit, and not by measure, as saith the blessed Evangelist John.

But neither again do we say that the Word which is of God dwelt in Him Who was born of the Holy Virgin as in an ordinary man, lest Christ should be understood to be a man who carries God (within Him), for though the Word "dwelt in us," and "all the fullness of the Godhead," as it is said, "dwelt in Christ bodily," yet we understand, that when He became flesh the indwelling was not such as when He is said to dwell in the saints, but that having been united by a union of natures (the two natures united in the one Person), and not converted into flesh, He brought to pass such an indwelling as the soul of man may be said to have with its own body.

V. There is then one Christ and Son and Lord, not as though He were a man connected with God simply by a unity of dignity or authority, for equality of honour does not

unite natures,—Peter and John are equal in honour in that they are apostles and holy disciples, but the two are not one (person).

Nor certainly do we understand the mode of connection to be that of juxtaposition, for this does not suffice to express a union of natures.

Nor do we understand the union to be in the way of relative participation as we, "being joined to the Lord," as it is written, "are one spirit with Him"; but rather we reject the term "connection" altogether, as insufficient to signify the union.

Nor do we call the Word which is of God the Father the God or Sovereign of Christ, lest we should again openly divide the one Christ, the Son and Lord, into two, and incur the charge of blasphemy, by making Him the God and Sovereign of Himself. For the Word of God being personally united with flesh, as we said, is God of the universe and Sovereign of the whole world. Neither is He His own servant or His own Sovereign; for it were folly, or rather impiety, so to hold or say. He did indeed speak of God as His own Father, though yet Himself God by nature, and of His Father's essence. But we are not ignorant, that while He continued God He also became man subject under God, as befits the law of man's nature. But how could He become the God or Sovereign of Himself? Wherefore as man, and as befits the measure of His humiliation, He speaks of Himself as subject under God with us. So also He became under the Law, though Himself spake the Law, and is the Lawgiver, as God.

VI. We refuse also to say of Christ, "For the sake of Him who assumes I worship Him Who is assumed; for the sake of Him who is seen I worship Him who is unseen." It shocks me also to say, "He that is assumed shares the name of God with Him Who assumes." For he who so speaks again makes two several Christs, one God and one man. For he confessedly denies the union, according to which there is understood one Christ Jesus—not one jointly worshipped with another, or jointly sharing the name of God with another, but one Christ Jesus, one only-begotten Son, honoured with one worship with His own flesh.

We confess also that the very Son, which was begotten of God the Father, and is the only-begotten God, though being in His own nature impassible, suffered for us in the flesh, according to the Scriptures, and was in His Crucified Body impassibly appropriating and making His own the sufferings of His own flesh. And "by the grace of God He tasted death also for every man," yielding to death His own body, though originally and by nature Life, and Himself the Resurrection. For "He tasted death for every man," as I said, and returned to life again on the third day, bringing with Him the spoils of Hell, that having trampled upon death by His ineffable might, He might in His own flesh first become the "first-born from the dead," and the "firstfruits of them that sleep," and might prepare the way for the return of man's nature to immortality. So that, though it be said, "By man came the resurrection of the dead," yet by "man" we understand the Word which was begotten of God, and that by Him has the dominion of death been destroyed. And He will come at the appointed time, as one Son and Lord, in the glory of the Father, to judge the world in righteousness, as it is written.

VII. And we will perforce add this also. For showing forth the death in the flesh of the only-begotten Son of God, that is, of Jesus Christ, and confessing His return to life from the dead, and His assumption into heaven, we celebrate the unbloody service in the Churches, and so approach the mystic Benedictions, and are sanctified, being made partakers of the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ the Saviour of us all, receiving it not as ordinary flesh, God forbid, nor as the flesh of a man sanctified and joined to the Word by a unity of dignity, or as having God dwelling in Him, but as Life-giving of a truth and the very own flesh of the Word Himself. For being, as God, life by nature, when He became one with His own flesh, He made that flesh life-giving. So that though He says to us, "Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood," yet we shall not account it as though it were the flesh of an ordinary man (for how could the flesh of a man be life-giving of its own nature?) but as having become of a truth the own flesh of Him, Who for our sakes became and was called both Son and Man.

VIII. Moreover we do not distribute the Words of our Saviour in the Gospels to two several subsistences or Persons. For the one and sole Christ is not twofold, although we conceive of Him as consisting of two distinct substances inseparably united, even as a man is conceived of as consisting of soul and body, and yet is not twofold but one of both. But if we hold the right faith we shall believe both the human language and the divine to have been used by one Person. For when, speaking as befits God, He says of Himself, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father," and "I and the Father are one," we recognize His divine and ineffable nature, by which He is one also with His own Father because of the identity of essence, being the image and impress and effulgence of His glory. But when, not shrinking from acknowledging what belonged to His human nature, He says to the Jews, "Now ye seek to kill Me, a man, Who have spoken unto you the truth," we no less recognize Him even out of the measure of His human nature, God the Word equal and like to His Father. For if it is necessary to believe that, being God by nature, He became flesh, that is to say man instinct with a rational soul, what ground could any one have for being ashamed of words spoken by Him, because they were such as were proper to man? For if He should shrink from using language proper to man, who constrained Him to become a man, such as we? He that for our sakes humbled Himself to a voluntary abasement of Himself, why should He shrink from using language suitable to that abasement? To one Person, therefore, must be attributed all the expressions used in the Gospels, the one incarnate hypostasis of the Word, for the Lord Jesus Christ is one according to the Scriptures.

IX. And if He be called also "The Apostle and High-Priest of our profession," as ministering to God the Father the confession of faith which is offered on our parts both to Him, and through Him to God the Father, and assuredly to the Holy Spirit also, again we aver that He is by nature the only-begotten Son of God, and we do not attribute the Priesthood, name and thing, to another man beside Him. For He is become a Mediator between God and Man, and a peace-maker, having offered up Himself for a smell of sweet

savour to God the Father. For which cause also He said, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body thou hast prepared for Me. In whole-burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin Thou hadst no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come. In the Volume of the Book it is written of Me, to do Thy will, O God." For He hath offered His own body for a sweet-smelling savour for us and not for Himself. For what offering or sacrifice did He need for Himself, being by nature as God above all sin? For though "all we have sinned and do come short of the glory of God," even as we are prone to turn aside, and man's nature is diseased with the disease of sin (it is not so with Him), and do come short, therefore, of His glory, how could any doubt remain that the true Lamb of God hath been slain on our account, and in our behalf? To say that "He offered Himself both for Himself and for us" is nothing short of blasphemy. For in nothing was He an offender or a sinner. Of what offering then did He stand in need, there being no sin for which offering should be made in any reason?

X. And when He says of the Spirit, "He shall glorify Me," if we understand the words rightly, we shall not say that the one Christ and Son received glory from the Holy Ghost, as being in need of glory from another, for the Holy Ghost is not superior to Him and above Him. But since for the manifestation of His Godhead, He made use of the Holy Ghost for the working of miracles, He says that "He was glorified by Him," just as any one of us might say, of his strength, for instance, or his skill in any matter, "they shall glorify me." For though the Holy Spirit has a personal subsistence of His own, and is conceived of by Himself, in that He is the Spirit and not the Son, yet He is not therefore alien from the Son. For He is called "the Spirit of Truth," and Christ is "the Truth," and He is poured forth from Him just as He is also from God the Father. For which cause the Holy Ghost glorified Him when He wrought miracles by the hands of the holy Apostles also, after our Lord Jesus Christ had gone up to heaven. For Himself working miracles by His own Spirit was believed to be God by nature. For which reason also He said, "He shall take of Mine and shall show it unto you." On the other hand, we do not say for a moment, that the Holy

Spirit is wise and powerful by participation. For He is perfect in every respect, and wanting of no possible good. But since He is the Spirit of the Father's Power and Wisdom, that is, of the Son's, He is in very deed Wisdom and Power Himself.

XI. But forasmuch as the holy Virgin brought forth after the flesh God personally united to flesh, for this reason we say of her that she is "the Mother of God," not as though the nature of the Word had its beginning of being from the flesh, for He was "in the beginning," and "the Word was God, and the Word was with God," and He is the Maker of the worlds, co-eternal with the Father, and the Creator of the universe, but, as we said before, because having personally united man's nature to Himself, He vouchsafed also to be born in the flesh, of her womb. Not that He needed of necessity, or for His own nature, to be born in time and in the last ages of the world, but that He might bless the very first element of our being, and that, a woman having borne Him united to flesh, there might be made to cease thenceforward the curse lying upon our whole race, which sends to death our bodies which are of the earth, and that the sentence, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children," being annulled by Him, the words of the Prophet might be verified, "Death prevailed and swallowed up, and then again God wiped away every tear from every face." For this cause we affirm also that He blessed marriage in accordance with the dispensation by which He became man, and went with His holy Apostles to a marriage-feast when invited at Cana of Galilee.

These things we have been taught to hold by the holy Apostles and Evangelists, and by all divinely inspired Scripture, and by the true confession of the blessed Fathers. To all of them it behoves thy Religiousness also to assent and consent without guile of any sort.

Now the statements which it is necessary for thy Religiousness to anathematize are subjoined to this our Epistle:—

1. If any one does not confess Emmanuel to be very God, and does not acknowledge the holy Virgin consequently to be "the Mother of God," for she brought

forth after the flesh the Word of God become flesh, be he anathema.

2. If any one does not confess that the Word which is of God the Father hath been personally united to flesh, and is one Christ with His own flesh, the same person, that is, being both God and man alike, be he anathema.

3. If any one in the one Christ divides the subsistences after the union, connecting them only by a connection of dignity or authority or rule, and not rather by a union of natures, be he anathema.

4. If any one distributes to two Persons or Subsistences the expressions used both in the Gospels and in the Epistles, or used of Christ by the Saints, or by Him of Himself, attributing some to a man, conceived of separately, apart from the Word which is of God, and attributing others, as befitting God, exclusively to the Word which is of God the Father, be he anathema.

5. If any one dares to say that Christ is a man who carries God (within Him), and not rather that He is God in truth, as one Son even by nature, even as the Word became flesh, and became partaker in like manner as ourselves of blood and flesh, be he anathema.

6. If any one dares to say that the Word which is of God the Father is the God or Sovereign of Christ, and does not rather confess the same to be both God and man alike, the Word having become flesh, according to the Scriptures, be he anathema.

7. If any one says that Jesus as man was actuated by God the Word, and that He was invested with the glory of the only-begotten, as being other than He, be he anathema.

8. If any one dares to say that the man who was assumed ought to be worshipped jointly with God the Word, and glorified jointly, and ought jointly to share the name of God, as one in another (for the "jointly" which is always added obliges one to understand this), and does not rather honour Emmanuel with one worship, and offer to Him one ascription of Glory, inasmuch as the Word hath become flesh, be he anathema.

9. If any one says that the one Lord, Jesus Christ, was glorified by the Spirit, as though the power which He exercised was another's received through the Spirit, and

not His own, and that He received from the Spirit the power of countervailing unclean spirits, and of working divine miracles upon men, and does not rather say that it was His own Spirit by Whom He wrought divine miracles, be he anathema.

10. Divine Scripture saith, that Christ became "the High-Priest and Apostle of our profession," and that He "offered up Himself for us for a sweet-smelling savour to God the Father." If then any one says that it was not the very Word of God Himself Who became our High-Priest and Apostle, when He became flesh and man as we, but another than He, and distinct from Him, a man born of a Woman; or if any one says that He offered the sacrifice for Himself also, and not rather for us alone, for He Who knew no sin had no need of offering, be he anathema.

11. If any one does not confess that the Lord's flesh is life-giving, and that it is the own flesh of the Word of God the Father, but affirms that it is the flesh of another than He, connected with Him by dignity, or as having only a divine indwelling, and not rather, as we said, that it is life-giving, because it hath become the own flesh of the Word Who is able to quicken all things, be he anathema.

12. If any one does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, and was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, and became the first-born from the dead, even as He is both Life and Life-giving, as God, be he anathema.—C. A. Heurtley, *On the Faith and the Creed*, 162–76.

No. 195.—Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch, April 23, 433

From Cyril, *Ep.* xxxix. (*Op.* x. 104–9; *P.G.* lxxvii. 173–82).

"Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad," for the mid-wall of partition is broken down, and the cause of sorrow is removed, and all manner of dissension taken away, Christ, our common Saviour, awarding peace to His own Churches, to which peace, moreover, the most religious Princes, most dear to God, have called us, who, nobly emulating the piety of their ancestors, preserve in their own souls the orthodox faith firm and unshaken, while they take

exceeding great care of the holy Churches, that they may win eternal renown, and may make their Empire most illustrious; on whom also the Lord of Hosts Himself bestows good things with a liberal hand, and gives them to prevail over their enemies, and grants them victory, for He would not utterly belie His word. "As I live, saith the Lord, them that honour Me, I will honour."

On the arrival then at Alexandria of my lord Paul, my brother and fellow-minister, most dear to God, we were filled with joy; and with good reason, seeing that such a man was acting as mediator, and had voluntarily encountered excessive toils that he might vanquish the envy of the devil, and join together what had been sundered, and having cleared away the stumbling-blocks which had been cast between us, might crown both our Churches and yours with unanimity and peace. How they came to be sundered it is needless to say; it behoves us rather, I imagine, both to mind and speak what is in keeping with a time of peace.

We were delighted then at the happy coming of the aforementioned most religious man, who possibly anticipated that it would cost him no small exertion to persuade us that we ought to make peace between the Churches, and do away with the ridicule of the heretics, and moreover blunt the sting of the devil's malice, but, on the contrary, found us so ready for this, that he had absolutely no trouble at all. For we bear in mind the Saviour's words, "My peace I give unto you, My peace I leave unto you," and we have been taught moreover to pray, "O Lord our God, give us peace, for Thou art the bountiful giver of all things." So that if one become a partaker of the peace which God liberally supplies, he will lack no good thing.

But that the variance between the Churches was altogether groundless and without any real cause, we are now most entirely convinced, my lord, the most religious bishop Paul, having produced a paper containing an unexceptional confession of faith, which, he affirms, was drawn up by thy Holiness and the most religious bishops there (at Antioch). The writing is to this effect, and it is inserted word for word in this our letter:—

The Confession of John and the Orientals

"Concerning the Virgin Mother of God, how we both hold and speak, and concerning the mode of the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, we will perforce declare in few words—not as though we were supplying some deficiency, but as a matter about which there can be no doubt, as we have held from the first, having received it both from the divine Scriptures and from the tradition of the holy Fathers,—we will declare, I say, in few words, making no addition whatever to the faith put forth by the holy Fathers at Nicæa. For that Faith, as we have already said, suffices both for all knowledge of godliness and for the denunciation of all heretical heterodoxy. And we will make the declaration, not rashly venturing to intrude upon what is beyond our reach, but, while acknowledging our own weakness, barring the way against those who would fain dictate to us, where we are dealing with matters too high for man.

"We confess, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and a perfect Man, consisting of a rational soul and a body, begotten of the Father before the worlds as touching His Godhead, the same, in the last days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, as touching His Manhood: the same of one substance with the Father as touching His Godhead, and of one substance with us as touching His Manhood. For of two natures there hath been made a union. For which cause we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord.

"In accordance with this sense of the unconfused union, we confess the holy Virgin to be 'the Mother of God,' because God the Word became incarnate and was made man, and from the very conception united to Himself the temple that was received from her. And as to the expressions concerning the Lord in the Gospels and Epistles, we are aware that divines understand some as common, as relating to one Person, and others they distinguish, as relating to two natures, explaining those that befit the divine nature according to the Godhead of Christ, and those of a humble sort according to His Manhood."

Having been made acquainted then with these sacred words of yours, and finding that we ourselves are of the same mind, for there is "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," we gave thanks to God, the Saviour of the world, rejoicing with one another that our Churches, both ours and yours, hold a faith in accordance with the divinely inspired Scriptures and with the tradition of our holy Fathers.

But when I learnt that some of those who take delight in finding fault were buzzing about like spiteful wasps, and were spitting forth odious speeches against me, as though I said that the holy Body of Christ "was brought down from heaven, and was not of the holy Virgin," I thought it necessary to say a few words to them about this:—O fools, who know only how to slander, how have ye been mispersuaded to take up this perverse notion, how have ye fallen sick of so great folly? For ye ought by all means to be aware that almost the whole of our contention for the faith has grown out of our confident assertion that the holy Virgin is "the Mother of God." But if we affirm that the holy Body of Christ, the Saviour of us all, was from heaven, and was not born of her, how can she be conceived of as the "Mother of God"? For whom in the world did she bear, if it be not true that she bore Emmanuel, according to the flesh? Let them be treated with scorn then, who prate thus about me. For it is no falsehood which the blessed Prophet Isaiah speaks when he says, "Behold the Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which being interpreted, is God with us." And it is altogether true which the holy Gabriel said to the blessed Virgin, "Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. And behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a Son, and shalt call His name 'Jesus,' for Himself shall save His people from their sins."

But when we say that our Lord Jesus Christ is "from heaven and from above," we say it—not as though His holy flesh was brought down from above and from heaven, but we follow rather the divinely-taught Paul, who cries distinctly: "The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is from heaven." And we remember moreover the

Saviour's words: "No one hath ascended up to heaven but He who came down from heaven, the Son of Man," notwithstanding that He was born as to the flesh, as I said just now, of the holy Virgin. But forasmuch as He that came down from above and from heaven, God the Word, emptied itself, taking the form of a servant, and was called the Son of Man, remaining still what He was, that is, God,—(for He is unchangeable and unalterable as to His nature)—therefore He is said to have "come down from heaven," being even now conceived of as one with His own flesh, and He is named also "Man from heaven," the same perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, and conceived of as in one Person: for the Lord Jesus Christ is one, although we do not forget the difference of the natures, from which we affirm the ineffable union to have been formed.

But let thy Holiness vouchsafe to stop the mouths of those who say that there was a mixture of confusion or blending of God the Word with the flesh, for it is likely that some are spreading the report, that I hold or say this also. But so far am I from holding anything of the sort that I look upon those as mad who at all imagine that "shadow of turning" can befall the divine nature of the Word, and that He is suceptible of change: for He remains what He is always, and hath undergone no alteration. Nor could He ever undergo alteration. Moreover we all acknowledge that the WORD of God is naturally impassible, even though, in His all-wise administration of the mystery, He is seen to attribute to Himself the sufferings which befell His own flesh. Thus also the all-wise Peter says, "Christ then having suffered for us in the flesh," and not in the nature of the ineffable Godhead. For in order that He may be believed the Saviour of the world, He appropriates to Himself, as I said, in view of His incarnation, the sufferings of His own flesh—as did the Prophet before, who said, speaking in his person, "I gave my back to the scourges, and my cheeks to blows, and my face I turned not away from the shame of spitting."

But that we follow everywhere the sentiments of the holy Fathers, and especially those of our blessed and all-renowned Father Athanasius, refusing to vary from them

in the least possible degree, let thy Holiness be assured, and let no one else entertain a doubt. I would have set down many passages of theirs, confirming my own words from them, if I had not been afraid of making my letter too long and therefore tedious. And we in no wise suffer any to unsettle the faith (the Symbol of the faith I mean) defined by our holy Fathers assembled sometime at Nicæa. Nor assuredly do we suffer ourselves or others either to alter a phrase of what is contained therein, or to go beyond a single syllable, remembering who said, "Remove not the eternal land-marks which thy Fathers set." For it was not they who spake, but the very Spirit of God the Father, who proceedeth indeed from Him but is not alien from the Son in respect of essence. And in this the words of the holy teachers confirm us. For in the Acts of the Apostles it is written: "When they had gone throughout Mysia they essayed to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not." The blessed Paul, too, writes in his Epistle: "They that are in the flesh cannot please God. And you are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. But if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His."

But when any of those who are wont to pervert the right wrest my words to what they please, let not thy Holiness marvel, as thou knowest that heretics also of every sort collect arguments in support of their error from the divine Scripture, corrupting by their own evil-mindedness what hath been rightly spoken by the Holy Ghost, and drawing down in full measure upon their own heads the unquenchable flame.

But since we have learnt that some have published a garbled edition of our all-renowned Father Athanasius's orthodox Epistle to the blessed Epictetus, so that many are being injured by it, therefore with a view to what may be useful and necessary to the brethren, we send your Holiness a transcript taken from ancient and correct copies which we have here.

The Lord preserve thee in good health, and interceding for us, most honoured brother.—C. A. Heurtley, *On the Faith and the Creed*, 177–84.

No. 196.—The Rule of Doctrine and Development, 434

From Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium*, §§ 1, 2, 23 (*P.L.* l. 637–40, 667–8).

[§ 5] Here perhaps some one will ask, Since the canon of Scripture is complete and is in itself sufficient, and more than sufficient on all points, what need is there to join to it the authority of ecclesiastical interpretation? The answer of course is that, owing to the very depth of Holy Scripture itself, all do not receive it in one and the same sense; but one in one way and another in another interpret the declarations of the same writer, so that it seems possible to elict from it as many opinions as there are men. For Novatian expounds it one way, Photinus another, Sabellius another, Donatus another, Arius, Eunomius and Macedonius another, Apollinarius and Priscillian another, Jovinian, Pelagius and Celestius another, and quite lately Nestorius another. Whence it is most necessary, on account of the great intricacies of such various errors, that the rule for the interpretation of the Prophets and Apostles should be laid down in accordance with the standard of the ecclesiastical and Catholic understanding of them.

[§ 6] Also in the Catholic Church itself we take great care that we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always, by all. For that is truly and properly "Catholic," as the very force and meaning of the Word show, which comprehends everything almost universally. And we shall observe this rule if we follow universality, antiquity, consent. We shall follow universality if we confess that one Faith to be true which the whole Church throughout the world confesses; antiquity if we in no wise depart from those interpretations which it is plain that our ancestors and fathers proclaimed; consent if in antiquity itself we eagerly follow the definitions and beliefs of all, or certainly nearly all, priests and doctors alike.

[§ 7] What, then, will the Catholic Christian do if any part of the Church has cut itself off from the communion of the Universal Faith? What surely but prefer the soundness of the whole body to a pestilent and corrupt member?

What if some novel contagion seek to infect the whole

Church, and not merely a small portion of it? Then he will take care to cling to antiquity, which cannot now be led astray by any novel deceit.

[§ 8] What if in antiquity itself error be detected on the part of two or three men, or perhaps of a city, or even of a province? Then he will look to it that he prefer the decrees of an ancient General Council, if such there be, to the rashness and ignorance of a few.

But what if some error spring up concerning which nothing of this kind is to be found? Then he must take pains to find out and compare the opinions of the ancients, provided, of course, that such remained in the communion and faith of the One Catholic Church, although they lived in different times and places, conspicuous and approved teachers; and whatever he shall find to have been held, written and taught, not by one or two only, but by all equally and with one consent, openly, frequently and persistently, that he must understand is to be believed by himself also without the slightest hesitation.

[§ 9] But to make what we say plainer, we must illustrate it by some individual examples and enlarge upon it a little more fully, lest in our anxiety to be extremely brief, weighty matters be hurried over in swiftness of speech.

In the time of Donatus, from whom the Donatists get their name, when large numbers in Africa were rushing into the error of their own madness, and, forgetful of their name, religion and profession, preferred the sacrilegious rashness of one man to the Church of Christ, then they alone throughout Africa were safe within the precincts of the Catholic Faith who, detesting the profane schism, continued in communion with all the Churches of the world; leaving an illustrious example to posterity as to the very proper way in which the soundness of the whole body should be preferred to the insanity of one, or even of a few.

[§ 85] Moreover, holy Pope Celestine also was equally of the same opinion. For he says in his epistle which he sent to the priests in Gaul, convicting them of connivance in error because, by their keeping silent, they were abandoning the old Faith and suffering profane novelties to spring up: "Deservedly are we to blame, if by our silence we encourage error. Therefore let those who are guilty of this

be rebuked. Do not let them have unrestricted liberty of preaching."

Here perhaps some one will question whether those, whose liberty of preaching he would prohibit, are preachers of antiquity or inventors of novelty. Let him speak and himself dispel the doubt of his readers. He goes on: "If the case be so"—he means, If what some people are complaining to me about your cities and provinces be true, namely, that by your hurtful dissimulation you are making them consent to certain novelties—"If this be true, then let novelty cease to assail antiquity."

That was the blessed opinion of blessed Celestine—not that antiquity should cease to subvert novelty, but that novelty should cease to attack antiquity.

[§ 86] Whoever shall break these Apostolical and Catholic Decrees is bound first of all to insult the memory of St. Celestine, who enjoined that novelty should cease to assail antiquity. Next he must mock the decision of St. Sixtus, who believed that no licence ought to be given to novelty because it is not fitting that anything should be added to antiquity. He also despises the fixed opinion of blessed Cyril, who loudly praised the zeal of the venerable Capreolus, because he desired the doctrines of the ancient Faith to be confirmed and novel inventions to be condemned.

Moreover, he tramples on the Ephesine Synod, the judgments of the holy bishops from almost the whole of the East, whom it pleased to decree by Divine guidance that nothing was to be believed by posterity which the sacred antiquity of the holy Fathers, consilient with themselves and with Christ, had not held; who, shouting and acclaiming with one mouth testified that these were the words of all, that all wished this, that all thought thus, namely, that as almost all heretics before Nestorius, despising antiquity and maintaining novelty, had been condemned, so also Nestorius himself, an author of novelty and an assailant of antiquity, should be condemned.

And if this sacred unanimity, inspired by Divine grace, be displeasing to any, then he must needs hold that the profanity of Nestorius was unjustly condemned. Ultimately such an one despises the whole Church of Christ and her Teachers, and Apostles, and Prophets, and especially the

blessed Apostle Paul, as so much dirt. He despises the Church, in that she has never failed in her bounden duty to revere and thoroughly reverence the Faith once for all delivered to her. He despises St. Paul, who wrote, "O Timothy, keep the deposit, avoiding profane novelties of speech": and "If any one preach to you anything beyond what ye have received, let him be accursed."

But if neither Apostolic decrees nor Church definitions are to be respected, by which always all heretics—including the latest, Pelagius, Celestius, and Nestorius—according to the sacred consent of Universality and Antiquity, have been justly and deservedly condemned, then assuredly it is the duty of all Catholics who desire to show themselves genuine sons of their Mother Church to cling to the Faith of the holy Fathers, to clasp it close, to die for it; and on the other hand to hate, abhor, censure and punish the profane novelties of the profane.

[§ 87] These are mostly the points which, having been explained more fully in the two Commonitories, I have now abbreviated somewhat by way of recapitulation in order that my memory, for the strengthening of which I set out to compose the works, may be fortified by constant reminding, and avoid collapse through a distaste for diffuseness.—*Vincentius Lirinensis against Heresy*, 5–9, 85–7.

No. 197.—The Canons of Leo, Archdeacon of Rome, on Grace, 435

From *Præteritorum sedis apostolicæ episcoporum auctoritates de gratia Dei*, §§ 14, 15, appended to Cælestine, *Ep.* xxi. (*P.L.* l. 536 *sq.*).

[§ 14] By these constitutions of the Church and by proofs taken from divine authority, we are, with the help of God, so assured as to confess God to be the author of all good desires and works and virtues which from the beginning of faith tend towards God; and as to have no doubt that all human merits receive their first impulse from [*præveniri*] His grace, of whom it comes to pass that we begin to will or to do anything that is good. By this help and gift of God free-will is not taken away, but set really free, so that, from being dark, it becomes light; from being

depraved, upright; from being sick, sound; from being ignorant, wise. For such is the goodness of God towards all men, that what are really His gifts He wills to reckon as our merits; and for the gifts which He has bestowed, He will grant eternal rewards. He works in us both to will and to do what He wills; nor does He suffer that to be idle in us which ought to be kept at work, and so He grants that we too may be fellow-workers with the grace of God. If then we see anything in ourselves ailing because of our slackness, let us earnestly have recourse to Him who heals all our ailments and redeems our life from death, and to whom we say daily: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

[§ 15] As for the more abstruse and difficult parts of questions that meet us and have received fuller treatment from those who have fought the battle against heretics, we do not venture to make light of them, but we do not hold it necessary to add to them; because, in order to confess the grace of God, from the help and worth of which nothing is to be taken away, we think that what has been written and taught in accordance with the aforesaid rules of the Apostolic See is sufficient; so that, in a word, we do not hold anything to be Catholic which is clearly contrary to the decisions above given.—K.

No. 198.—The Arian Syllogism, *c.* 320

From Socrates [*fl. c.* 439], *H.E.* I. v.

[§ 1] After Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, had suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, Achillas was installed in the episcopal office, whom Alexander succeeded. . . . He . . . attempted one day, in the presence of the presbyterate and the rest of his clergy, to explain, with perhaps too philosophical minuteness, that great theological mystery—the unity of the Holy Trinity.

[§ 2] A certain one of the presbyters under his jurisdiction, whose name was Arius, possessed of no inconsiderable logical acumen, imagining that the bishop entertained the same view of this subject as Sabellius the Libyan, controverted his statements with excessive pertinacity, advancing another error which was directly opposed indeed to that

which he supposed himself called upon to refute. "If," said he, "the Father begat the Son, He that was begotten had a beginning of existence; and from this it is evident, that there was a time when the Son was not in being. It therefore necessarily follows that He had His existence from nothing."—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 7.

No. 199.—The Consecration of Frumentius, *c.* 355, as Bishop of Axum

From Socrates, *H.E.* I. xix. §§ 3–14.

[§ 3] I now come to speak of the cause which led them [*sc.* the "Indians," or, as now, Abyssinians] to become converts to Christianity. Meropius, a Tyrian philosopher, determined to visit the country of the Indians, being stimulated to this by the example of the philosopher Metrodorus, who had previously travelled through that region.

[§ 4] Having taken with him, therefore, two youths to whom he was related, who were by no means ignorant of the Greek language, Meropius arrived at that country by ship; and when he had inspected whatever he wished, he touched at a certain place which had a safe harbour, for the purpose of procuring some necessaries.

[§ 5] It so happened that the treaty between the Romans and the Indians had been violated a little before his arrival. The Indians, therefore, having seized the philosopher and those who sailed with him, killed them all except his two young kinsmen; but sparing them from compassion for their tender age, they sent them as a gift to the king of the Indians.

[§ 6] He being pleased with the personal appearance of the youths, constituted one of them, whose name was Ædesius, cup-bearer at his table: to the other, named Frumentius, he entrusted the care of the royal records.

[§ 7] The king dying soon after, left them free, the government devolving on his wife and infant son; and the queen, seeing her son thus left in his minority, begged the young men to undertake the charge of him until he should become of adult age.

[§ 8] They therefore accepted this commission and entered on the administration of the kingdom; but the

chief authority was in the hands of Frumentius, [§ 9] who began anxiously to enquire whether among the Roman merchants trafficking with that country there were any Christians to be found; and having discovered some, he informed them who he was, and exhorted them to select some appropriate places for the celebration of Christian worship.

[§ 10] In the course of a little while he built a house of prayer; and having instructed some of the Indians in the principles of Christianity, they were admitted to participation in the worship.

[§ 11] On the young king reaching maturity, Frumentius resigned to him the administration of public affairs, in the management of which he had honourably acquitted himself, and besought permission to return to his own country. Both the king and his mother entreated him to remain; but he, being desirous of revisiting his native place, could not be prevailed on, and consequently they both departed.

[§ 12] Ædesius hastened to Tyre to see his parents and kindred; but Frumentius, arriving at Alexandria, relates his whole story to Athanasius the bishop, who had but recently been invested with that dignity,[1] and acquainting him with the particulars of his residence abroad, expressed a hope that measures would be taken to convert the Indians to Christianity. He also begged him to send a bishop and clergy there, and by no means to neglect those who might thus be brought to the knowledge of salvation.

[§ 13] Athanasius, having considered how this could be most profitably effected, requested Frumentius himself to accept the bishopric, declaring that he could appoint no one more suitable than he.

[§ 14] He was accordingly ordained, and again returning to India with episcopal authority, became there a preacher of the Gospel, and built several Oratories; being aided also by divine grace, he performed various miracles, healing diseases both of the souls and bodies of many. Rufinus[2] assures us that he heard these facts from Ædesius, who was afterwards inducted into the sacred office at Tyre. — *The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 69–72.

[1] On this date see H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism*[2], 97–9.
[2] Rufinus, *H.E.* i. 9 (*Op.* 230–2; *P.L.* xxi. 478–80).

No. 200.—The Dead Man's Hand, 335

From Socrates, *H.E.* I. xxix.

[§ 1] The special providence of God drove Arsenius also to Tyre; for, disregarding the injunctions he had received from the accusers by whom he had been bribed, he went thither disguised, to see what would be done. [§ 2] It by some means happened that the servants of Archelaus, the governor of the province, heard some persons at an inn affirm that Arsenius, who was reported to have been murdered, was at that very time concealed in the house of one of the citizens. [§ 3] Having marked the individuals by whom this statement was made, they communicated the circumstance to their master, who, causing strict search to be made for the man immediately, discovered and properly secured him; after which he gave notice to Athanasius that he need not be under any alarm, inasmuch as Arsenius was alive and there present. [§ 4] Arsenius, on being apprehended, at first denied that he was the person supposed; but Paul, Bishop of Tyre, who had formerly known him, soon established his identity. [§ 5] Divine providence having thus disposed matters, Athanasius was shortly after summoned by the Synod; and as soon as he presented himself, his traducers exhibited the hand, and pressed their charge. [§ 6] Managing the affair with great prudence, he simply enquired of those present, as well as his accusers, whether any of them knew Arsenius? And several having answered in the affirmative, he caused Arsenius to be introduced, having his hands covered by his cloak. [§ 7] Then he again asked them, Is this the person who has lost a hand? All were astonished at the strangeness of this procedure, except those who knew whence the hand had been cut off; for the rest thought that Arsenius was really deficient of a hand, and expected that the accused would make his defence in some other way. [§ 8] But Athanasius, turning back the cloak of Arsenius on one side, shows one of the man's hands; again, while some were supposing that the other hand was wanting, after permitting them to remain a short time in doubt, [§ 9] he turned back the cloak on the other side and exposed the other hand. Then, addressing himself to those present, he said: "Arsenius, as you see, is found

to have two hands: let my accusers show the place whence the third was cut off."—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 94 *sq.*

No. 201.—The Anomœans, 361

From Socrates, *H.E.* II. xlv. §§ 9–14.

[§ 9] The Acacians meanwhile became extremely anxious that another Synod should be convened at Antioch, in consequence of having changed their mind respecting their former assertion of the likeness in all things of the Son to the Father.

[§ 10] A small number of them, therefore, assembled in the following year, in the consulate of Taurus and Florentius, at Antioch in Syria, where the Emperor was at that time residing, Euzoïus being bishop. A discussion was then renewed on some of those points which they had previously determined, in the course of which they declared that the term *Homoios* ought to be erased from the form of faith which had been published both at Rimini and Constantinople. Nay, so completely did they unmask themselves as openly to contend that the Son was altogether *unlike* the Father, not merely in relation to his *essence*, but even as it respected his *will:* asserting boldly also, as the Arians had already done, that he was made *of nothing.*

[§ 11] Those in that city who favoured the heresy of Aëtius, gave their assent to this opinion; from which circumstance, in addition to the general appellation of Arians, they were also termed Anomœans, and Exucontians, by those at Antioch who embraced the orthodox faith; who, nevertheless, were at that time divided among themselves on account of Meletius, as we have before observed.

[§ 12] The Homoousians, therefore, having asked them how they dared to affirm that the Son is unlike the Father, and has his existence from nothing, after having acknowledged him "God of God" in their former creed? they endeavoured to elude this objection by such fallacious subterfuges as these:—

[§ 13] "The expression 'God of God,'" said they, "is to be understood in the same sense as the words of the apostle (1 Cor. xi. 12), 'but all things of God.' Wherefore

the Son is 'of God,' as being one of these 'all things'; and it is for this reason the words 'according to the Scriptures' are added in the draught of the creed."

[§ 14] The author of this sophism was George, Bishop of Laodicea [in Syria], who, being unskilled in such phrases, was ignorant of the manner in which Origen had formerly analyzed and explained these peculiar expressions of the apostle. But, notwithstanding these evasive cavillings, their inability to bear the reproach and contumely they had drawn upon themselves induced them to fall back upon the Creed which they had before put forth at Constantinople; and so each one retired to his own district.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 229 *sq.*

No. 202.—Julian: his Amnesty, February 9, 362

From Socrates, *H.E.* III. i. § 48.

[§ 48] And first, in order to brand the memory of Constantius by making him appear to have been cruel toward his subjects, he recalled the exiled bishops, and restored to them their confiscated estates. He next commanded his confidential agents to see that the pagan temples should be opened without delay. Then he directed that such individuals as had been victims of the extortionate conduct of the eunuchs should be repossessed of the property of which they had been plundered.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 240.

No. 203.—The Penitential Discipline at Constantinople, *c.* 390

From Socrates, *H.E.* V. xix. §§ 1–9.

[§ 1] It was deemed requisite at this time to abolish the office of those presbyters in the churches who superintended the confessional: this was done on the following account. [§ 2] When the Novatianists separated themselves from the Church because they would not communicate with those who had lapsed during the persecution under Decius, the bishops added to the ecclesiastical canon a presbyter whose duty it should be to receive the confession of penitents who had sinned after baptism. [§ 3] And this mode of discipline

is still maintained, among other heretical institutions, by all the rest of the sects; the Homoousians only, together with the Novatianists who hold the same doctrinal views, having rejected it. [§ 4] The latter indeed would never admit of its establishment, and the Homoousians, who are now in possession of the churches, after retaining this function for a considerable period, abrogated it in the time of Nectarius, in consequence of what occurred in the Constantinopolitan church. [§ 5] A woman of noble family, coming to the penitentiary, made a general confession of those sins she had committed since her baptism, [§ 6] and the presbyter enjoined fasting and prayer continually, that together with the acknowledgment of error she might have to show works also meet for repentance. [§ 7] Some time after this the same lady again presented herself, and confessed that she had been guilty of another crime, a deacon of that church having lain with her. [§ 8] On this information, the deacon was ejected from the church; but the people were very indignant, being not only offended at what had taken place, but also because the exposure of the fact had brought scandal and degradation upon the church. [§ 9] When, in consequence of this, ecclesiastics were subjected to taunting and reproach, Eudæmon, a presbyter of that church, by birth an Alexandrian, persuaded Nectarius the bishop to abolish the office of penitentiary presbyter, and to leave every one to his own conscience with regard to the participation of the Sacred Mysteries; for thus only, in his judgment, could the church be preserved from obloquy. — *The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 393 *sq.*

No. 204.—Variety of Ecclesiastical Usages

From Socrates, *H.E.* V. xxii. §§ 31–9.

[§ 31] . . . And here it will not perhaps be unseasonable to notice the diversity of customs in the churches. [§ 32] The fasts before Easter are differently observed. Those at Rome fast three successive weeks before Easter, excepting Saturdays and Sundays. [§ 33] The Illyrians, Achaians and Alexandrians observe a fast of six weeks, which they term "the forty days' fast." [§ 34] Others, commencing their fast from the seventh week before Easter, and fasting three five

days only, and that at intervals, yet call that time "the forty days' fast." . . . [§ 36] There is also a disagreement about abstinence from food, as well as the number of days. Some wholly abstain from things that have life; others feed on fish only of all living creatures. [§ 37] Many, together with fish, eat fowl also, saying that, according to Moses, these were likewise made out of the waters. [§ 38] Some abstain from eggs and all kinds of fruits; others feed on dry bread only; and others eat not even this. [§ 39] While others having fasted till the ninth hour, afterwards feed on any sort of food without distinction.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, iii. 403.

No. 205.—The Character of Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, 412–†44

From Isidore of Pelusium [†440], *Epp.* I. cccx. (*Op.* 82 *sq.*; *P.G.* lxxviii. 361), to Cyril.

Sympathy does not see distinctly; but antipathy does not see at all. If then you would be clear of both sorts of blearness of vision, do not indulge in violent negations, but submit any charges made against you to a just judgment God Himself, who knows all things before they come to pass, vouchsafed to come down and see the cry of Sodom; thereby teaching us the lesson to look closely into things and weigh them well. Many of those who were assembled at Ephesus speak satirically of you as a man bent on pursuing his private animosities, not as one who has at heart the cause of Jesus Christ. "He is sister's son to Theophilus," they say, "and in temper and character takes after him. Just as the uncle openly expended his fury against the inspired and beloved John, so also the nephew seeks to set himself up in his turn, although there is considerable difference between the things at stake."—K.

No. 206.—Valentinian III., 425–†55: his Edict of July 8, 445

From *Constitutio Valentiniani III.* = Leo, *Ep.* xi. (*Op.* 642–4; *P.L.* liv. 636–40).

Certain it is that for us and our Empire the only defence is in the favour of the God of heaven; and to deserve it

our first care is to support the Christian faith and its venerable religion. Inasmuch then as the primacy of the Apostolic See is assured by the merit of St. Peter, prince of the episcopate, by the rank of the City of Rome, and also by the authority of a sacred Synod, let not presumption endeavour to attempt anything contrary to the authority of that See. For then at length will the peace of the churches be everywhere maintained, if the whole body acknowledges its ruler. Hitherto these customs have been inviolably observed; but Hilary [Bishop of] Arles, as we are informed by the trustworthy report of that venerable man Leo, Pope of Rome, has with contumacious daring ventured upon certain unlawful proceedings; and therefore the churches beyond the Alps have been invaded by abominable disorders. . . . By such deeds of daring, confidence in, and respect for, our Empire is broken down. Not only then do we put away so great a crime; but in order that not even the least disturbance may arise amongst the churches, or the discipline of religion appear in any instance to be weakened, we decree by this perpetual edict that it shall not be lawful for the bishops of Gaul or of the other provinces, contrary to ancient custom, to do aught without the authority of the venerable Pope of the Eternal City; and whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See has enacted, or may hereafter enact, shall be the law for all. So that, if any bishop summoned to trial before the Pope of Rome shall neglect to attend, he shall be compelled to appearance by the Governor of the Province, in all respects regard being had to what privileges our deified parents conferred on the Roman Church. Wherefore your illustrious and eminent Magnificence is to cause what is enacted above to be observed in virtue of this present edict and law, and a fine of ten pounds is at once to be levied on any judge who suffers our commands to be disobeyed.—K.

No. 207.—Petition of his Clergy in favour of Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, 448

From *Conc. Chalc.* Actio X. (Mansi, vii. 249–56).

By many and diverse persons coming from Phœnicia we have been informed of the proceedings of those who made

an attack upon our God-beloved and holy Bishop of Ibas. We were alarmed at what was alleged; for what they said went far beyond anything ever heard from atheists, unbelievers, heretics, Jews or heathen. In our presence they affirmed that our bishop said, "I do not envy Christ becoming God; the same thing might have happened to me, had I chosen." All of us who heard these words declare to your Worship,[1] as in the presence of the all-merciful God, that we never heard anything of the sort said by any one, nor did anything of the kind reach our ears at any time. We acknowledge ourselves accursed and subject to the pains of hell if ever we knew of anything like this being said by him, or anything else contrary to the Catholic Faith. If we were to admit such a statement, or to communicate with him who said it, or to join with him in the celebration of the Sacrifice, we should deserve the utmost penalty, as taking a share in such an abomination. We pray and beseech your Wisdoms to persuade our reverend bishop to return to his flock as quickly as possible. It is in danger of being torn to pieces by all, since there is no one able to attend to it; the more so as Easter, the feast of salvation, is at hand, and there is need of his presence for the catechizings and for those who are ready for baptism. And we beg that this our request may be inserted in the minutes in the presence of your Wisdoms, that there be no lack of publicity. [Signed by sixty-three clergy of Edessa.]—K.

No. 208.—The Admissions of Eutyches, November 22, 448

From Co. Const. Sessio vii. (Mansi, vi. 744).

Archbishop Flavian said: Do you confess that the one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is consubstantial with His Father as to His Divinity, and consubstantial with His mother as to His humanity?

Eutyches said: When I entrusted myself to your Holiness, I said that you should not ask me further what I thought concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

[1] Photius, Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius of Beyrout, Imperial Commissioners for the trial of Ibas.

The Archbishop said: Do you confess Christ to be of two natures?

Eutyches said: I have never yet presumed to speculate concerning the nature of my God, the Lord of heaven and earth; I confess that I have never said that He is consubstantial with us. Up to the present day I have not said that the body of our Lord and God was consubstantial with us; I confess that the Holy Virgin is consubstantial with us, and that of her our God was incarnate. . . .

Florentius, the patrician, said: Since the mother is consubstantial with us, doubtless the Son is consubstantial with us.

Eutyches said: I have not said, you will notice, that the body of a man became the body of God, but the body was human, and the Lord was incarnate of the Virgin. If you wish that I should add to this that His body is consubstantial with us, I will do this; but I do not understand the term consubstantial in such a way that I do not deny that He is the Son of God. Formerly I spoke in general not of a consubstantiality according to the flesh: now I will do so, because your Holiness demands it. . . .

Florentius said: Do you or do you not confess that our Lord, who is of the Virgin, is consubstantial and of two natures after the Incarnation?

Eutyches said: I confess that our Lord was of two natures before the union [*i.e.* the union of divinity and humanity in the incarnation], but after the union, one nature. . . . I follow the teaching of the blessed Cyril and the holy Fathers and the holy Athanasius, because they speak of two natures before the union, but after the union and incarnation, they speak not of two natures but of one nature.—J. C. Ayers, *Source-Book of Ancient Church History*, 513 *sq.*

No. 209.—The Tome of St. Leo, June 13, 449

From Leo, Bishop of Rome, 440–†61, *Ep.* xxviii. (*Op.* i. 801–38; *P.L.* liv. 755–82).

I. Having read your letter, dearly beloved Brother, at the tardiness of which we are surprised, and having had the proceedings of the Episcopal Synod explained to us,

we now understand the scandal which had arisen among you touching the orthodox faith. What before was obscure is now manifest. And Eutyches, who bore the honoured title of Presbyter, is shown to be exceedingly foolish and ignorant, so that the prophet's words are applicable to him: "He would not understand that he might do good; he hath devised iniquity upon his bed." For what can be more iniquitous than to be wise towards impiety, and to refuse to yield to those who are wiser and more learned than himself? But men fall into this folly, when, on being prevented by some obscurity from becoming acquainted with the truth, they have recourse, not to the writings of the Prophets, not to the Epistles of the Apostles, not to the authority of the Gospels, but to themselves, and thus become teachers of error because they have not been disciples of truth. For what instruction has he gained from the sacred pages of the New and Old Testament who does not comprehend the first words even of the Creed? The truth which is pronounced, through the whole world, by the voice of those who are about to be regenerated, is not yet taken hold of by the understanding of this aged man.

II. Not knowing then what he ought to hold concerning the Incarnation of the Word of God, and not caring to have his understanding enlightened by travailing in the wide field of Holy Scripture, he should at least have listened attentively to that common and uniform confession, in which the whole body of the faithful profess that they believe "IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, AND IN JESUS CHRIST HIS ONLY SON OUR LORD, WHO WAS BORN OF THE HOLY GHOST AND THE VIRGIN MARY." By which three sentences the devices of almost all heretics are overthrown. For when God is believed to be both Almighty and Father, it follows that the Son is co-eternal with Him, in no respect different from the Father, because He was born God of God, Almighty of Almighty, co-eternal of eternal, not posterior in time, not inferior in power, not dissimilar in glory, not divided in essence. But the same only-begotten, eternal Son of the eternal Father was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary. Which temporal nativity hath made no diminution from, no addition to, that divine and eternal nativity, but

hath bestowed itself wholly on the restoration of man who had been deceived, that it might both overcome death, and by its own virtue destroy the devil who had the power of death. For we could not gain the victory over the author of sin and death unless He had taken our nature and made it His own, whom neither sin could defile nor death hold, having been conceived by the Holy Ghost, in the womb of His Virgin mother, whose Virginity remained entire in His birth, as in His conception.

But if Eutyches was unable from this most pure fountain of Christian faith (the Creed) to draw forth its genuine meaning, seeing that he had wilfully blinded himself to the brightness of transparent truth, he ought to have submitted himself to the teaching of the Gospel. He should have listened to Matthew when he says, "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham"; he should have sought instruction also from the preaching of the Apostles (the Epistles); he should have read in the Epistle to the Romans, "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God, which He had promised before by His Prophets, in the Holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was made unto Him of the seed of David according to the flesh"; he should have attended also with pious solicitude to the Prophets, and finding the promise of God to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed," lest he should have any doubt as to the proper meaning of this "seed," he should have followed the Apostle, when he says, "To Abraham and to his seed were the promises made. He saith not 'to seeds,' as of many, but as of one, 'to thy seed,' which is Christ." He should have apprehended too, with his inward ear, Isaiah's words, "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is being interpreted 'God with us.'" He should have read also with an honest mind the words of the same Prophet, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, whose authority is upon His shoulder, and His name shall be called Angel of great Counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Prince of Peace, Father of the future age." Nor would Scripture have been so inconsistent as to say that the Word was made flesh in

such wise, that Christ, born of the Virgin's womb, had the form of man, and yet had not the true nature of His Mother's body. Or did Eutyches therefore possibly suppose that our Lord Jesus Christ was not of our nature, because when the angel was sent to blessed Mary, ever Virgin, he said, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," so that because He who was conceived by the Virgin was conceived by divine operation, therefore His flesh was not of the nature of her who conceived Him? But we are not so to understand that generation singularly marvellous and marvellously singular, as that by the novelty of the mode of production the distinctive generic character was precluded. For the Holy Spirit gave fecundity to the Virgin, but the verity of the body was received from the body; and when Wisdom built herself a house "The Word was made flesh and dwelt in us," *i. e.* in that flesh which He took from man, and which He animated with the Spirit of rational life.

III. The property or distinctive character then of each nature and substance remaining entire, and coalescing into one person, humility was assumed by majesty, by might weakness, by eternity mortality, and in order to pay the debt of our condition an impassible nature was united to a passible one, that, as a remedy suited to our case, one and the same Mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ, might be capable of death from the one and incapable from the other. Very God, therefore, was born in the entire and perfect nature of very man, whole in His own nature, whole in ours. Ours I mean which the Creator framed in the beginning, and which He assumed that He might restore: for that which the Deceiver brought in, and man being deceived admitted, had no trace in the Saviour. Nor, because He condescended to share our infirmities, did He therefore partake with us in our sins. He took upon Him the form of a servant without the defilement of sin, augmenting what was human, detracting nothing from what was divine, forasmuch as that emptying of Himself, whereby the Invisible rendered Himself visible, and the Creator and Lord of all things willed to be mortal, was a stooping down

of compassion, not a defect of power. Accordingly He who remaining in the form of God made man, the same in the form of a servant was made man. For each nature retains its own property without defect, and as the form of God does not take away the form of a servant, so the form of a servant makes no diminution of the form of God. For, forasmuch as the devil gloried that man, deceived by his fraud had been deprived of divine gifts, and, stripped of the dower of immortality, had incurred the stern sentence of death, and that himself, in his own evil case had found a sort of consolation in the companionship of the transgressor, that God, moreover, justice requiring, had changed his own sentence in respect of man, whom He had created in so great honour, there was need of a dispensation of secret counsel, that the unchangeable God, whose will cannot be deprived of its own benevolence, should accomplish the original intention of His goodness towards us, by a more recondite mystery, and that man driven into sin by the wicked craft of the devil, should not perish contrary to God's purpose.

IV. The Son of God, therefore, coming down from His heavenly throne, and yet not departing from the glory of His Father, enters this lower world, born after a new order, by a new mode of birth: born after a new order, forasmuch as, invisible in His own nature, He became visible in ours, incomprehensible He willed to be comprehended, being ever before time, He began to be in time, the Lord of the Universe He took upon Him the form of a servant, throwing a veil over His infinite majesty, God impassible, He did not disdain to become passible man, immortal, to be subject to the laws of death: born by a new mode of birth, forasmuch as virginity inviolate which knew not concupiscence ministered the substance of flesh. From the mother of the Lord was received nature, not sin: nor in the Lord Jesus Christ, born of a Virgin's womb, because the birth is marvellous, is the nature therefore dissimilar to ours, for He who is very God is also very man. Nor is there any unreality in this unity, while there is on the one hand the humility of man, on the other the majesty of Godhead. For as the God is not changed by compassion, so the man is not consumed by dignity. For each nature in union with

the other performs the actions which are proper to it. The Word those which are proper to the Word, the flesh those which are proper to the flesh. The one is resplendent with miracles, the other succumbs to injuries. And as the Word recedes not from equality with the Father's glory, so the flesh parts not with the nature of our race. For (and it must be said again and again), one and the same person is truly the Son of God, and truly the Son of man:—God, for "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"—man, for "the Word was made flesh and dwelt in us;" God, for "all things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made,"—man, for "He was made of a woman, made under the law." The nativity of the flesh is a manifestation of human nature, the birth of a virgin a token of divine power. The infancy of the little Child is exhibited in the lowliness of swaddling clothes, the majesty of the most High is declared by the voices of angels. He whom wicked Herod seeks to kill is like a human infant; but He whom the Magi rejoice suppliantly to adore is Lord of all. When He came to the baptism of John His forerunner, lest the Godhead which was covered by the veil of flesh should be concealed, the Father's voice thundered from heaven, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." He whom as man the devil tempts with his subtlety, the same, as God, is ministered to by angels. To hunger, to thirst, to be weary, to sleep, is manifestly human; but with five loaves to satisfy five thousand men, and to bestow on the Samaritan woman that living water, which whosoever drinks shall never thirst, to walk upon the surface of the sea without sinking, and to rebuke the tempest, and lay the surging waves, is without question divine.

As, therefore, to be brief, it belongs not to the same nature to weep with pity for a dead friend, and with a command to raise the same restored to life, on the removal of the stone which covered the grave wherein he had lain four days; or to hang upon the cross, and, changing light into darkness, to make all the elements tremble; or to be pierced with nails, and to open the gates of Paradise to the believing malefactor,—so it does not belong to the same nature to say, "I and My Father are one," and to say,

"The Father is greater than I." For although in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one Person of God and Man, that from which there is in both a common contumely is one, that from which a common glory another. From ours He has the human nature inferior to the Father, from the Father the Divine nature equal to the Father.

V. On account, therefore, of this unity of Person to be understood in both natures, both the Son of man is said to have descended from heaven, when the Son of God took flesh of His Virgin Mother, and again the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, when He suffered these things, not in the Divine nature in which He is the only-begotten of the Father, co-eternal and consubstantial with Him, but in the weakness of human nature. Whence also we all confess in the Creed that "THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD WAS CRUCIFIED AND BURIED," according to the saying of the Apostle, "For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."

But when our Lord and Saviour was instructing the faith of His disciples by questioning them, "Who," says He, "do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" and when they had related diverse opinions of others, but "ye," says He, "who do ye say that I am?"—I who am a son of man, and whom ye see in the form of a servant, and in the verity of flesh—"who do ye say that I am?" On which blessed Peter, divinely inspired, and by his confession about to confer a benefit on all nations, answers, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Deservedly, therefore, was he pronounced "blessed" by the Lord, and from the archetypal rock drew the solidity both of his virtue and of his name, who by the revelation of the Father confessed the same Person both the Son of God and the Christ, seeing that one of these received without the other availed not for salvation; and it was equally perilous to believe the Lord Jesus Christ either God only and not man also, or man only and not God also. But after the resurrection of the Lord (which assuredly was that of a true body, because no other was raised but the Person who had been crucified and dead) what else was done in the forty days' interval than to cleanse the soundness of our faith from all obscurity? For conversing with His disciples, and abiding with them,

eating with them, and permitting those who doubted to touch Him with careful and curious touch, He both entered in to the disciples, the doors being shut, and breathing on them gave them the Holy Spirit, and enlightening their understanding, opened to them the Holy Scriptures, and again—still the same, He showed the wound in His side, the prints of the nails, and all the tokens of His recent passion, saying, "Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have," that the properties of both natures, the Divine and the human, might be recognised in Him continuing inseparable, and that while we understand that the Word is not the same as the flesh, we may confess one Son of God both Word and flesh.

Of which mystery of the faith this Eutyches must be regarded as plainly void, who acknowledges our nature in the only-begotten Son of God, neither through the humility of His mortality, nor through the glory of His resurrection, having no fear of the sentence of the blessed Apostle and Evangelist John, who says, "Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit which disuniteth Jesus is not of God: and this is antichrist." What indeed is to "disunite Jesus" but to separate His human nature from Him, and to make void the mystery, by which alone we have been saved, by most impudent figments?

But being blinded concerning the nature of Christ's body, he must needs be blinded with the same blindness in the matter of His passion. For if he does not esteem the Lord's cross to be unreal, and does not doubt the truth of the punishment which was undergone for the salvation of the world, let him acknowledge the flesh of Him whose death he believes; and let him not deny Him to have been man with a body such as ours, whom he knows to have been passible; since the denial of very flesh is the denial also of bodily suffering. If, therefore, he holds the Christian faith, and does not turn a deaf ear to the preaching of the Gospel, let him consider what nature it was that was pierced with nails and hanged upon the cross, and let him understand whence it was, that when the side of the crucified was pierced by the soldier's spear, blood and water issued,

that the Church of God might be bedewed both with the Laver and with the Cup.

Let him listen also to the blessed Apostle Peter proclaiming that the sanctification of the Spirit is effected by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ. And let him read attentively the same Apostle's words, "Knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Jesus Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." And let him not resist the testimony of the Apostle John, "The blood of Jesus, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin"; and again, "This is the victory which overcometh the World, even our Faith." "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? That is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which beareth witness, for the Spirit is truth. For there are three which bear witness, the Spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three are one," the Spirit, that is, of sanctification, and the blood of redemption, and the water of baptism, which three are one, and continue inseparable, and no one of them is severed from its connection with the others: because by this faith the Catholic Church lives, by this makes increase, that in Christ Jesus, neither the manhood is believed without very Godhead, nor the Godhead without very manhood.

VI. But when on being questioned in your examination Eutyches replied, "I acknowledge that our Lord was of two natures before the union, but after the union I confess one nature," I marvel that his so absurd and so perverse profession met with no rebuke from the judges, and that a sentence so extremely foolish and so extremely blasphemous was suffered to pass without notice, as though nothing offensive had been heard; seeing that the assertion that the only-begotten Son of God was of two natures before the Incarnation, was as impious, as the assertion was wicked, that after "the Word was made flesh," there was in Him but one nature. Which saying lest Eutyches should regard it as right or tolerable, seeing that it met with no confutation on your part, we advise thee, dearly beloved brother, to take

care that if by God's merciful inspiration, the matter is brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the folly of the ignorant man may be purged also from this pestilent sense of his. Who indeed, as the record of the proceedings shows, had made a good beginning in renouncing his persuasion, when constrained by your sentence, he made profession of saying what before he had not said, and acquiesced in that faith to which formerly he was a stranger. But when he would not consent to anathematize the impious dogma, you understood, brother, that he continued still in his misbelief, and deserved to be condemned. For which if he grieves sincerely and to good purpose, and acknowledges, though late, how properly the Episcopal authority has been put in motion, or if, for complete satisfaction, he shall condemn, *viva voce*, and by actual subscription all that he has held amiss, no lenity towards him, now corrected, how great soever, will be blameworthy. For our Lord, the true and good Shepherd, "who laid down His life for His sheep," and who came to save men's souls, not to destroy, would have us to imitate His clemency, that those who sin justice should restrain, but those who repent mercy should not repel. For then is the true faith most effectually defended, when a false opinion is condemned also by its upholders.

But for the carrying out of the whole matter piously and faithfully we have appointed our brothers, Julius, bishop, and Renatus, presbyter, of the Titular Church of St. Clement, and, moreover, my son Hilary, deacon, as our representatives; with whom we have associated Dulcitius our notary, of whose fidelity we have had proof, confidently trusting that God will be present with His assistance, so that he who had erred, his mischievous opinion having been condemned, may be saved. God preserve thee, dearly beloved brother.—C. A. Heurtley, *On Faith and the Creed*[2], 195–208.

No. 210.—Iazdegerd II., King of Persia, 438-†57; his persecuting Edict, 449

From Elisæus Vartabad [†480], *History of Armenia*, c. ii., *ap.* V. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens de l'Arménie*, 190 *sq.*

Mir-Nersch, Supreme Governor of Iran and of Aniran, to the inhabitants of Great Armenia, greeting!

Know ye that every man who dwells under heaven and does not follow the religion of Mazdeism is deaf, blind, and deceived by the *dev* of Ahriman. . . . Ormazd created men; and Ahriman pain, sickness and death. All misery and evil . . . is the work of the creator of evil; but happiness, power, glory, honour, health, beauty, eloquence and length of days are the work of the creator of good. All that is not of this sort is produced by the creator of evil.

Men who say that He is the author of death, and that good and evil come from Him, are in error; in particular, the Christians who affirm that God is jealous, and that, just for a fig picked from a tree, He created death and condemned men to undergo it. Such jealousy does not exist among men; still less between God and man. Those men who say so are deaf and blind, and deceived by the *dev* of Ahriman. The Christians also profess another error. They say that God, who created heaven and earth, was born of a virgin named Mary, whose husband was called Joseph; the truth, however, being that he was the son of Pantherus, by illicit intercourse. There are many who were deceived by this man. If the country of the Greeks [Romans], in consequence of ignorance, was grossly deceived, and alienated from our perfect religion, they are the cause of their own loss. Why do you share in their error? You ought to profess the religion that is followed by your Master; as, in God's sight, we shall have to give account for you.

Do not believe your spiritual superiors whom you call Nazarenes; for they are deceivers. . . . They preach that God has been crucified by men; that He died and was buried; that He rose again and ascended into heaven. Ought you not yourselves to take a just measure of doctrines like that? The *dev* who are evil are not imprisoned and tormented by men; much less God, the Creator of all

things. It is therefore monstrous for you to say such things; and, for us, altogether past belief.

And so I submit to you two questions. Either rebut all that is contained in my Edict; or arise, and come to the Gate, and present yourselves before the Supreme Tribunal.

The names of the bishops who replied to the Edict were Joseph, Bishop of Ararat [Catholicus of Armenia, 441–†52], [and seventeen others].—K.

No. 211.—The Baptismal Renunciations and the Theatre, *c.* 450

From Salvian [400–†80], *De gub. Dei* [439–51], VI. vi. §§ 30–2 (*C.S.E.L.* viii. 133).

[§ 30] . . . What folly and frenzy is it that we do not value any mirth or pleasantry unless it carries in it some affront to our Maker. Nay, and the greatest affront that can possibly be.

[§ 31] For in the public shows there is a kind of apostatizing from the faith and its pledges, and a mortal prevarication from the divine sacraments. For what is the first thing that Christians profess in their baptism to salvation? What else but that they vow to renounce the devil, his pomps, shows and works? and therefore these pomps and shows, even according to our own profession, are the works of the devil.

[§ 32] How then, O Christian, do you follow these spectacles after your baptism, which you confess to be the works of the devil? You have once renounced the devil and all his shows; so that you must necessarily know that when you return to these shows, you do wittingly and knowingly return to the devil.—Salvian, *A Treatise of God's Government*, 170: tr. R.T. (London, 1700).

No. 212.—Empty Churches and Crowded Theatres, *c.* 450

From Salvian, *De gub. Dei*, VI. vii. §§ 35–9 (*C.S.E.L.* viii. 134 *sq.*).

[§ 35] I cannot forbear, therefore, to return to what I have said often before. What is there like this among the

barbarians? Where are there any Cirque-Games among them? Where are their theatres? Where is the abomination of all kinds of impurities, that is, the destruction of our hopes and salvation? And although they, as pagans, did make use of all these, yet their error would be much less culpable in the sight of God; because, although there would be uncleanness in the seeing of them, yet would there be no breach of a sacred obligation.

[§ 36] But as to us, what can we answer for ourselves? We hold the Creed—and yet destroy it; we confess the gift of salvation, and at the same time deny it. And where is our Christianity this while, who have received the sacrament of salvation to no other purpose but that we might transgress afterward with greater sin and wickedness? We prefer plays before the churches of God. We despise the altars, and honour the theatres. We love them all. We respect them all. 'Tis only God Almighty who seems little to us in comparison of them all.

[§ 37] For beside many other things which show it, this which I am going to say does sufficiently prove it. If at any time it chances, which it often does, that on the same day there is a Church Festival and public plays, I desire to ask of every man's conscience which of the two places has the greater congregation of Christians in it: the seats of the public play, or the court of God, and whether all rather follow the temple or the theatre; and whether they love the words of the Gospel more, or those of the players; the words of life, or the words of death; the words of Christ, or the words of a mimical actor?

[§ 38] There is no doubt but that we love that the more which we put first. For on every day of these deadly sports, if there happen to be any feasts of the Church, they who call themselves Christians do not only not come to church; but if, by chance, not having heard of any such thing, they have come, as soon as ever they hear there are plays, they presently leave the church. The church of God is despised that they may haste to the play-house: the church emptied, the Cirque filled. We leave Christ on the altar that we may feed our eyes that run a whoring after the unclean sights, with the fornication of those filthy pastimes.—Salvian, *A Treatise of God's Government*, 171–3: tr. R.T. (London, 1700).

No. 213.—Chastity to be found only with the Clergy, *c.* 450

From Salvian, *De gub. Dei*, VII. xvii. §§ 72, 74, 75 (*C.S.E.L.* viii. 178–80).

[§ 72] Well, it shall be so; all these things [*sc.* oppression of the poor] shall be passed over, for they are acted almost all over the Roman world; beside, I promised that in this place I would speak somewhat of these wickednesses. What then shall I say of that unchastity and uncleanness which I now speak of? Was it not alone sufficient to destroy the Africans? For what part of the city [*sc.* Carthage] was there that was not full of filthiness? What street or lane within the place that was not a bawdy-house? . . .

[§ 74] . . . What hope could be there, where, except in the Church of God, there was nothing but dirtiness to be seen? But why do I speak of the Church of God? For that belongs solely to the bishops and clergy, whom I do not enquire after, because I reserve all imaginable respect to the ministers of my Lord; for they, I believe, only remained undefiled at the altar; as we read that Lot, at the destruction in Sodom, was remaining alone in the mountain.

[§ 75] But as far as concerns the people, who was there in that innumerable number of them that was chaste? . . . If you seek as diligently as you can among so many thousands, you will scarce find one chaste person in the church. —Salvian, *A Treatise of God's Government*, 228–30: tr. R. T. (London, 1700).

No. 214.—The Definition of the Faith, October 22, 451

From the Council of Chalcedon, *Actio* V., *ap.* Mansi, vii. 116 *sq.*

Wherefore, after the example of the holy Fathers, we all with one voice confess our Lord Jesus Christ one and the same Son, the same perfect in Godhead, the same perfect in manhood, very God and very man, the same consisting of a reasonable soul and a body, of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, the same of one substance with us as touching the manhood, like us in all things, sin

except; begotten of the Father before the worlds as touching the Godhead, the same in these last days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, as touching the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, without confusion, without conversion, without division, never to be separated; the distinction of natures being in no wise done away because of the union, but rather the characteristic property of each nature being preserved, and concurring into one Person and one subsistence, not as if Christ were parted or divided into two Persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ; even as the Prophets from the beginning spake concerning Him, and our Lord Jesus Christ hath instructed us, and the Symbol of the Fathers hath handed down to us.

These things, therefore, having been formulated by us with all possible care and exactness, the holy Œcumenical Council decrees, that it shall be unlawful for any one to produce another faith, whether by writing, or composing, or holding, or teaching others. And those who presume either to frame another faith, or to publish, or teach, or deliver another Symbol to those who desire to turn to the acknowledgment of the truth from heathenism, or Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever, these—if they are bishops or clergymen,—the bishops to be deposed from the episcopate, and the clergymen from the clerical office: but if they are monks or laymen, to be anathematized.—C. A. Heurtley, *On Faith and the Creed*[2], 216 *sq.*

No. 215.—The See of Constantinople, 451

From the Council of Chalcedon, *Canons*, 9, 17, 28, *ap.* W. Bright, *Canons of the First Four General Councils*,[2] xli., xliv., xlvii.

[§ 9] If any cleric has a suit against another cleric, let him not leave his own bishop, nor have recourse to the secular courts of justice, but let him first try the question before his own bishop, or, with the consent of the bishop himself, before those persons whom both parties shall choose to have the hearing of the cause. And if any

person shall act contrary to these decrees, let him undergo the canonical punishments. But if a cleric has any matter either against his own or any other bishop, let him be judged by the Synod of the Province. But if any bishop or cleric has a controversy against the bishop of the Province himself [*i.e.* the Metropolitan], let him have recourse to the Exarch of the Diocese, or to the throne of the Imperial city of Constantinople, and plead his cause before him.

[§ 10] The rural and country parishes in every Province must continue without disturbance under the bishops who have had possession of them, particularly if they have had them under their management for the space of thirty years without dispute. If, however, there has been or shall be any dispute respecting them within the thirty years, it is allowed to those who say that they are injured to move the question respecting these things before the Synod of the Province. But if any one is wronged by his Metropolitan, he is to be judged by the Exarch of the Diocese, or by the throne of Constantinople, as has before been said. If, however, any city has been newly erected by royal authority, or shall hereafter be erected, let the order of the ecclesiastical parishes follow the political and public forms.

[§ 28] We, following in all things the decision of the holy Fathers, and acknowledging the canon of the one hundred and fifty most religious bishops, which has just been read, do also determine and decree the same things respecting the privileges of the most holy city of Constantinople, New Rome. For the Fathers properly gave the primacy to the throne of the elder Rome, because that was the Imperial city. And the one hundred and fifty most religious bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, judging with reason that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her. And [we also decree] that the Metropolitans only of the Pontic, and Asian and Thracian Dioceses, and, moreover, the bishops of the aforesaid Dioceses who are among the barbarians, shall be ordained

by the above-mentioned most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople; each Metropolitan of the aforesaid Dioceses ordaining the bishops of the Province, as has been declared by the divine canons; but the Metropolitans themselves of the said Dioceses shall, as has been said, be ordained by the bishop of Constantinople, the proper elections being made according to custom, and reported to him.—W. A. Hammond, *Canons of the Church*, 93 *sq.*, 96, 99 *sq.*

No. 216.—The Imperial Confirmation of the Council of Chalcedon, February 7, 452

From *Tandem aliquando: Conc. Chalc.* III. iii. (Mansi, vii. 475–8).

The Emperors and Cæsars Valentinian III. and Marcian, to our citizens of Constantinople.—At last that which we wished, with earnest desire, has come to pass. Controversy about the orthodox religion of Christians has been put away; remedies have been found for culpable error; and diversity of opinion among the peoples has issued in common consent and concord. From the different provinces the most religious bishops came to Chalcedon in accordance with our commands, and have taught by clear definition what ought to be observed in the matter of religion. He is a truly impious and sacrilegious person who, after the sentence of so many bishops, reserves anything to be decided by opinions of his own. It is the mark of utter madness to search, in the full light of day, for counterfeit illumination. If any one, after this finding of the truth, enter upon any further debate, he searches for shams. No one, therefore, be he cleric, or official, or of any other estate, shall henceforth collect a crowd for an audience and publicly discuss the Christian faith, devising occasion of tumult thereby. A man does despite to the judgment of the most religious Council if, after the decision has once been rightly taken, he attempts to go over it again in public disputation; since it is acknowledged that what has now been concluded about the Christian faith, in accordance with Apostolic expositions and the decrees of the three hundred and eighteen [at Nicæa], and the one

hundred and fifty [at Constantinople], has been finally determined. Those who despise this enactment will not go unpunished—since they not only assail the faith that has been well set forth, but, by such controversy, profane the venerable mysteries in the ears of Jews and pagans. Wherefore if any cleric[1] venture to deal with religion in public, he shall be removed from the list of the clergy; if any official does so, he shall lose his appointment; while others guilty of this offence shall be banished from the Imperial city; and all shall be rendered liable to the appropriate penalties by the bench of judges. For it is agreed that public disputations and debates are the source and stuff of heretical madness. All, therefore, shall be bound to hold to the decisions of the sacred Council of Chalcedon, and to indulge no further doubts. Take heed, therefore, to this edict of our Serenity; abstain from profane words, and cease all further discussion of religion. It is wrong. This sin, as we believe, will be punished by the judgment of God; but it will also be restrained by the authority of the laws and the judges. Given at Constantinople on the seventh of February [452].—K.

No. 217.—The Pelagian View of Baptism, 419–20

From Julian, Bishop of Eclanum, 417–†54, *Liber i. ad Turbantium*, *ap.* Aug. *Op. imperf. c. Jul.* i. § 53 (*Op.* x. 897; *P.L.* xlv. 1076).

[§ 53] In so saying I do not overlook what will be put about concerning us, that we do not consider the grace of Christ necessary for infants. I have nothing but approval for Christian people taking violent offence at this, if only they would not credit us with responsibility for a statement so intrinsically impious. They would then escape the guilt of believing what is not true of their brethren, and show themselves zealous in love for the faith. That faction must be secured by us against making idle attacks; and by a brief explanation, we must sew up the mouths of those

[1] On the subsequent history of *Nemo clericus*, as creating the civilian standard of Catholicism, see B. J. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, No. 117, and *How can I be sure that I am a Catholic?*, 18–20.

who vilify us. We then so fully acknowledge the grace of baptism to be profitable to all ages that we smite with perpetual anathema all who think that it is not necessary to children also. But this grace we believe to be rich in spiritual gifts: one, too, which, abounding as it does in many endowments and venerable for its virtues, in proportion to the differences of men's ailments and the diversities of their condition, heals them not only by bestowing remedies but by the virtue of its gifts. When it is conferred, it is not variable according to occasion; of itself, it distributes its gifts to suit the capacity of each recipient. For just as no art or craft suffers any diminution or addition in consequence of the difference of the materials which it lays hold on for adornment, but, conducting itself always in one and the same fashion, results in a variety of ornament, so, too, the "one faith," and the "one baptism,"[1] of which the Apostle speaks, have many and far-reaching benefits, but suffer no change in their sacramental character. The grace which washes out the stains of iniquity, is not incompatible with righteousness; it does not cause sin, but cleanses; and that which absolves the guilty does not incriminate the innocent. Christ, who is the Redeemer of His own handiwork, bestows upon His image an increase of blessing by His perpetual generosity; and those whom by creation He made good, by renewal and adoption He makes better.—K.

No. 218.—Gaiseric captures Rome, 455

From Prosper, *Chron.* ad ann. 455 (*Op.* 754; *P.L.* li. 605 *sq.*).

After the death of Maximus, there followed immediately the captivity of the Romans, a thing worthy of many tears. The city was left undefended, and Gaiseric got possession of it. The holy Bishop Leo went forth to meet him outside the gates, and his prayers, by God's help, so softened him that, though all was in his power, as the city had been handed over to him, he refrained from fire and slaughter and punishment. So for fourteen days they were free and at liberty to search. They spoiled Rome of all its wealth;

[1] Ephes. iv. 5.

and many thousand captives, according as age or beauty took their fancy, they carried off to Carthage, including the Empress and her daughters.—K.

No. 219.—The Roman Church after the Exile of Liberius, 358

From Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, 423 †58, *H.E.* II. xvii.

[§ 1] This illustrious champion of the faith was sent into Thrace according to the sentence that had been enacted. Two years after this event Constantius went to Rome. The ladies of rank urged their husbands to petition the Emperor for the restoration of the shepherd to his flock: they added that, if this could not be conceded, the flock would go itself in quest of its great pastor.

[§ 2] Their husbands replied that they were afraid of incurring the resentment of the emperor. "If we were to ask him," they continued, "we should not succeed in obtaining the least concession; but if you were yourselves to present the petition, he would either accede to your request, or else dismiss you without injury." These noble ladies adopted this suggestion, and presented themselves before the Emperor, after having adorned themselves in the most splendid attire, in order to ensure greater respect and lenity.

[§ 3] Having thus presented themselves before him, they besought him to take pity on the condition of so large a city, deprived of its pastor and ravaged by wolves. The Emperor replied that the flock possessed a pastor capable of tending it, and that no other was needed in the city. After the banishment of the great Liberius, one of his deacons, named Felix, had been appointed bishop. He preserved inviolate the doctrines set forth in the Nicene confession of faith, yet he held communion with those who had corrupted that faith.

[§ 4] For this reason, none of the citizens of Rome would enter the church while he was in it. The ladies mentioned these facts to the Emperor. Their persuasions were successful; and he commanded that the great Liberius should be restored from exile, and that the two bishops should conjointly rule the church.

[§ 5] The edict of the Emperor was read in the race

course, and the multitude shouted that the Imperial legislation was just; that the spectators were divided into two factions, each deriving its name from its own colours, and that each faction would now have its own bishop.

[§ 6] After having thus ridiculed the edict of the Emperor, they all exclaimed with one voice: "One God! One Christ! One bishop!" These were their precise words.

[§ 7] Some time after this Christian people had uttered these pious and just exclamations, the holy Liberius returned, and Felix retired to another city.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, v. 130–2.

No. 220.—Leontius, Bishop of Antioch, 344–†57

From Theodoret, *H.E.* II. xxiv. §§ 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9.

[§ 1] After Flaccillus, the successor of Stephen, had been ejected from the Church, Leontius succeeded to the chief authority in Antioch, contrary to the decrees of the Nicene Council; for he was an eunuch, and had rendered himself such. . . .

[§ 3] . . . He participated in the errors of Arius, but carefully concealed his impiety. Perceiving that the clergy and laity were divided in opinion, and that when praise was offered to the Son, some introduced the conjunctive particle *and*, while others made use of the preposition *by* with reference to the Son, and of *in* with reference to the Holy Ghost, he repeated the doxology in an undertone of voice, so that those who were placed nearest him could only hear these words *for ever and ever*. . . .

[§ 5] He, however, manifested his sentiments by his actions . . . .

[§ 6] About this time Aëtius, who had added new errors to the Arian doctrines, was ordained deacon.

[§ 7] But Flavianus and Diodorus, who had embraced the monastical mode of life . . . exposed the artifices of Leontius against religion, and showed how he had elevated to the rank of deacon a man who had imbibed the most corrupt principles, and who sought to render himself conspicuous by his impiety. They even threatened to withdraw themselves from ecclesiastical communion with him, and to go to the West in order to make known his plots.

[§ 8] Leontius was terrified at these threats, and forbade Aëtius from performing the duties of the ministry; but in other respects he continued to patronize him. Although Flavianus and Diodorus were not elevated to the rank of the priesthood, but were merely laymen, yet by night and by day they exhorted all men to be zealous in religion.

[§ 9] They were the first who divided the choir, and taught them to sing the Psalms of David responsively. This custom, which they thus originated in Antioch, spread everywhere: even to the very ends of the habitable world.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, v. 146–8.

No. 221.—Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, 361–†81

From Theodoret, *H.E.* II. xxxi.

[§ 1] At this period the Emperor Constantius resided at Antioch. After he had, by concluding a truce, terminated the war against the Persians, he again assembled all the bishops, and tried to compel them to expunge the term "consubstantial" and to insert the expression "of a different substance." The church of Antioch was then destitute of a pastor; for Eudoxius, who had seized the bishopric on the death of Leontius, had been expelled; and had, in disobedience to the decrees of many councils, taken possession of that of Constantinople.

[§ 2] The bishops, who were assembled from all regions, therefore said that it was first necessary to elect a pastor over the flock, and that they would then, in concert with him, deliberate on the doctrines of religion. At this period, Meletius, whose character was most highly exemplary, had resigned the bishopric of a little city in Armenia, not being able to bear the contumacy of the people, and was living elsewhere in quiet and retirement.

[§ 3] The members of the Arian faction, believing that Meletius was of one mind with themselves, and that he upheld the same doctrines, petitioned Constantius to commit the reins of the church of Antioch into his hands; for they fearlessly violated every enactment in their attempt to strengthen their own impious cause. The very foundation of their blasphemy was laid upon the transgression of the laws; and they have everywhere introduced numerous innovations.

[§ 4] Those who supported the apostolical doctrines, being aware of the sound principles of the great Meletius, as well as of his exemplary course of life and of his great virtues, warmly seconded the petition, and zealously took measures to ensure the decree of his election being written and signed.

[§ 5] When the decree had been duly completed, it was entrusted to the care of Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata, who was a noble defender and champion of the truth. Upon receiving the Imperial command, the great Meletius returned, and was met by all the bishops, by the clergy, by the citizens, and even by the Jews and the Greeks, who were desirous of seeing so celebrated a man.

[§ 6] The Emperor commanded him, and those other bishops who possessed rhetorical abilities, to explain to the multitude the following words: "The Lord made me in the beginning of His ways, for His works"; and he commanded that each exposition should be committed to writing to ensure accuracy.

[§ 7] George, Bishop of Laodicea, was the first who drew up an exposition; and in it he displayed the baneful nature of his heresy. Acacius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in his explanation, which was next completed, steered a middle course between the impiety of the Arians and the purity of the apostolical doctrines, differing greatly from the one and yet not preserving the characteristic features of the other. Thirdly, the great Meletius stood up and explained the principles enforced by the apostolical canons.

[§ 8] He weighed all his words in the balance of truth, and carefully avoided saying either too much or too little. His discourse was heard with general approbation, and being entreated to give a brief synopsis of his doctrines, he extended three of his fingers, and then closed two, leaving one only extended, and uttered the following remarkable words: "Three persons are conceived in the mind, but we speak as if addressing one."

[§ 9] Those who had imbibed the errors of Arius began to revile him, and to accuse him falsely of following the doctrines of Sabellius.

[§ 10] They induced the Emperor, who was more changeable than Æolus, to banish him to his native country.

His bishopric was given to Euzoïus, who openly advocated the Arian doctrines, and who had been deposed at the same time as Arius, and had been excluded from the office of deacon by the great Alexander.

[§ 11] On account of this election, the more orthodox part of the community separated from those who had embraced heresy, and assembled in the apostolical church which was situated in the Old City. During thirty years, which had elapsed since the machinations against the celebrated Eustathius, they had borne with the wickedness of the Arians, expecting that affairs would take a better turn.

[§ 12] But when they saw that the cause of heresy was becoming stronger, and that all who maintained the apostolical doctrines were either openly opposed or secretly persecuted, and when they perceived that the holy Meletius had been deposed and Euzoïus, the patron of heresy, appointed to supplant him, they recalled to mind the words addressed to Lot, "Save your soul." . . .

[§ 13] . . . It was in this way that the church of Antioch was divided into opposite parties.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, v. 166–9.

No. 222.—The Argument from the Eucharist to the Incarnate Person, 447

From Theodoret, *Dial.* ii. (*Op.* iv. 125 *sq.*; *P.G.* lxxxiii. 168).

Eranistes. I am glad you have referred to the Eucharist. From it I will show you that the Lord's Body is changed into a different nature. Let me ask, What do you call the gift which is offered "before the priest's invocation"?

Orthodox. It is not right to answer explicitly; perhaps some uninitiated persons may be present.

E. Well, answer enigmatically.

O. Food, from certain seeds.

E. And the other symbol?

O. It has a general name, signifying a kind of drink.

E. But after the consecration, what do you call them?

O. Christ's Body and Christ's Blood.

E. And you believe that you receive Christ's Body and Blood?

O. I do so believe.

E. As then the symbols of the Lord's Body and Blood are different things after the invocation from what they were before, so His Body, after it was taken up (into heaven), was changed into the Divine essence.

O. You are caught in the nets which you wove. For the mystical symbols do not depart from their own nature after consecration; they remain in their former essence and figure and form, and are seen and touched as they were before; but are thought of as what they have become, and are believed and worshipped, as being those things which are believed. Compare then the image with the archetype; for the type must be like the reality. That body has its previous form and circumscription, and, in short, bodily essence; but it became immortal after the resurrection and superior to corruption, and was raised to a seat on God's right hand, and is adored by all creation, and called the body of the Sovereign of Nature.—*L.F.* xlvi. 207 *sq.*

No. 223.—Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, 423–†58, on his Preaching at Antioch

From Theodoret, *Ep.* lxxxiii [447], (*Op.* iv. 1146 *sq.*; *P.G.* lxxxiii. 1286), to Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, 444–51.

Thus I was compelled to write when I read the letters of your Holiness to the most pious and sacred Domnus, for there was contained in them the statement that certain men have come to the illustrious city administered by your Holiness, and have accused me of dividing the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons; and this, when preaching at Antioch, where innumerable hearers swell the congregation. I wept for the men who had the hardihood to contrive the vain calumny against me. But I grieved, and, my Lord, forgive me, forced as I am by pain to speak, that your pious Excellency did not reserve one ear unbiased for me instead of believing the lies of my accusers. Yet they were but three or four or about a dozen; while I have countless hearers to testify to the orthodoxy of my teaching. Six years I continued teaching in the time of Theodotus, Bishop of Antioch, of blessed and sacred memory, who was famous alike for his distinguished career and for his know-

ledge of the divine doctrines. Thirteen years I taught in the time of Bishop John of sacred and blessed memory, who was so delighted at my discourses as to raise both his hands and again and again to start up: your Holiness in your own letters has borne witness how, brought up as he was from boyhood with the divine oracles, the knowledge which he had of the divine doctrines was most exact. Besides these, this is the seventh year of the most pious Lord Archbishop Domnus. Up to this present day, after the lapse of so long a time, not one of the pious bishops, not one of the devout clergy, has ever at any time found any fault with my utterances. And with how much gratification Christian people hear our discourses, your godly Excellency can easily learn.—*N. & P.-N.F.* iii. 279.

No. 224.—The Appeal of Theodoret to Leo, Bishop of Rome, 449

Theodoret, *Ep.* cxiii. (*Op.* iv. 1187–91; *P.G.* lxxxiii. 1311–7).

If Paul, the herald of the truth, the trumpet of the Holy Ghost, hastêned to the great Peter in order that he might carry from him the desired solution of difficulties to those at Antioch who were in doubt about living in conformity with the Law, much more do we, men insignificant and small, hasten to your Apostolic See, in order to receive from you a cure for the wounds of the churches. For every reason it is fitting for you to hold the first place, inasmuch as your See is adorned with many privileges. . . . Your city . . . is the largest, the most splendid, the most illustrious in the world. . . . She has achieved her present sovereignty, and has given her name to her subjects. . . . She is, moreover, especially adorned by her faith. . . . In her keeping, too, are the tombs . . . of . . . Peter and Paul. . . .

I lament the disturbance of the Church, and long for peace. Six-and-twenty years have I ruled the church entrusted to me by the God of all, aided by your prayers. Never in the time of the blessed Theodotus, the chief bishop of the East; never in the time of his successors in the see of Antioch, did I incur the slightest blame. By the help of God's grace working with me more than a

thousand souls did I rescue from the plague of Marcion; many others from the Arian and Eunomian factions did I bring over to our master, Christ. I have done pastoral duty in eight hundred churches, for so many parishes does Cyrus contain; and in them, through your prayers, not even one tare is left, and our flock is delivered from all heresy and error. He who sees all these things knows how many stones have been cast at me by evil heretics, how many conflicts in most of the cities of the East I have waged against pagans, against Jews, against every heresy. After all this trial and all this danger I have been condemned without a trial.

But I await the sentence of your Apostolic See. I beseech and implore your Holiness to succour me in my appeal to your fair and righteous tribunal. Bid me hasten to you, and prove to you that my teaching follows the footprints of the Apostles.—*N. & P-N.F.* iii. 293 *sq.*

No. 225.—Leo, Bishop of Rome, 440–†61, on the Authority of his See

From Leo, *Serm.* ii. § 2, iii. § 3 (*Op.* i. 9–13; *P.L.* xliv. 144–7).

[ii. § 2] . . . Nor yet, I feel sure, is the fostering condescension and true love of the most blessed Apostle Peter absent from this congregation: he has not deserted your devotion, in whose honour you are met together. And so he too rejoices over your good feeling and welcomes your respect for the Lord's own institution as shown towards the partners of His honour, commending the well-ordered love of the whole Church, which ever finds Peter in Peter's see, and from affection for so great a shepherd grows not lukewarm even over so inferior a successor as myself. . . .

[iii. § 3] The dispensation of the Truth therefore abides, and the blessed Peter, persevering in the strength of the Rock, which he has received, has not abandoned the helm of the Church which he undertook. For he was ordained before the rest in such a way that from his being called the Rock, from his being pronounced the Foundation, from his being constituted the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, from his being seated as the Umpire to bind and to loose,

whose judgments shall retain their validity in heaven—from all these mystical titles we might know the nature of his association with Christ. And still to-day he more fully and effectually performs what is entrusted to him, and carries out every part of his duty and charge in Him and with Him, through whom he has been glorified. And so if anything is rightly done and rightly decreed by us, if anything is won from the mercy of God by our daily supplications, it is of his work and merits whose power lives and whose authority prevails in his See.—*N. & P.-N.F.* xii. 116 *sq.*

No. 226.—Manichæism at Rome, 443

From Leo, Bishop of Rome, 440-†61, *Serm.* xvi. [December 443] § 4 (*Op.* 50; *P.L.* liv. 178 C).

[§ 4] But while he retains this ever-varying supremacy over all the heresies, yet he has built his citadel upon the madness of the Manichees, and found in them the most spacious court in which to strut and boast himself; for there he possesses not one form of misbelief only, but a general compound of all errors and ungodlinesses. For all that is idolatrous in the heathen, all that is blind in carnal Jews, all that is unlawful in the secrets of the magic art, all, finally, that is profane and blasphemous in all the heresies, is gathered together with all manner of filth, as if in a cess-pool. And hence it is too long a matter to describe all their ungodlinesses; for the number of the charges against them exceeds my supply of words. It will be sufficient to indicate a few instances, that you may, from what you hear, conjecture what from modesty we omit. In the matter of their rites, however, which are as indecent morally as they are religiously, we cannot keep silence about that which the Lord has been pleased to reveal to our enquiries, lest any one should think we have trusted in this thing to vague rumours and uncertain opinions. And so with bishops and presbyters sitting beside me, and Christian nobles assembled in the same place, we ordered their elect men and women to be brought before us. And when they had made many disclosures concerning their perverse tenets and their mode of conducting festivals, they revealed this story of utter

depravity also, which I blush to describe, but which has been so carefully investigated, that no grounds for doubt are left for the incredulous or for cavillers. For there were present all the persons by whom the unutterable crime had been perpetrated, to wit, a girl at most ten years old, and two women who had nursed her and prepared her for this outrage. There were also present the stripling who had outraged her, and the bishop who had arranged their horrible crime. All these made one and the same confession, and a tale of such foul orgies was disclosed as our ears could scarcely bear. And lest by plainer speaking we offend chaste ears, the account of the proceedings shall suffice, in which it is most fully shown that in that sect, no modesty, no sense of honour, no chastity whatever is found; for their law is falsehood, their religion the devil, their sacrifice immorality.—*N. & P.-N.F.* xii. 124 *sq.*

No. 227.—The Roman Church the Head of the World

From Leo, *Serm.* lxxxii. [Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29], §§ 1, 3 (*Op.* 322 *sq.*; *P.L.* liv. 423 *sq.*).

[§ 1] The whole world, dearly beloved, does indeed take part in all holy anniversaries, and loyalty to the one Faith demands that, whatever is recorded as done for all men's salvation, should be everywhere celebrated with common rejoicings. But, besides that reverence which to-day's festival has gained from all the world, it is to be honoured with special and peculiar exultation in our city, that there may be a predominance of gladness on the day of their martyrdom in the place where the chief of the Apostles met their glorious end. For these are the men through whom the light of Christ's Gospel shone on thee, O Rome, and through whom thou, who wast the teacher of error, wast made the disciple of Truth. These are thy holy Fathers and true shepherds, who gave thee claims to be numbered among the heavenly kingdoms, and built thee under much better and happier auspices than they by whose zeal the first foundations of thy walls were laid; and of whom the one that gave thee thy name defiled thee with his brother's blood. These are they who promoted thee to such glory,

that being made a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal state, and the head of the world through the blessed Peter's holy See, thou didst attain a wider sway by the worship of God than by earthly government. For although thou wert increased by many victories, and didst extend thy rule on land and sea, yet what thy toils in war subdued is less than what the peace of Christ has conquered. [§ 3] For when the Apostles, after receiving through the Holy Ghost the power of speaking with all tongues, had distributed the world into parts among themselves, and undertaken to instruct it in the Gospel, the most blessed Peter, chief of the Apostolic band, was appointed to the citadel of the Roman Empire, that the light of truth which was being displayed for the salvation of all the nations, might spread itself more effectively throughout the body of the world from the head itself. What nation had not representatives then living in this city; or what peoples did not know what Rome had learnt?—*N. & P.-N.F.* xii. 194 *sq.*

No. 228.—Pope Leo's Condemnation of Priscillianism, July 21, 447

From Leo, *Ep.* xv. (*Op.* 694–711; *P.L.* liv. 678–92), to Turibius, Bishop of Astorga and Metropolitan of Gallæcia.

Your laudable zeal for the truth of the Catholic Faith, and the painstaking devotion you expend in the exercise of your pastoral office upon the Lord's flock, is proved by your letter, brother, which your deacon has handed to us, in which you have taken care to bring to our knowledge the nature of the disease which has burst forth in your district from the remnants of an ancient plague. For the language of your letter,[1] and your detailed statement,[2] and the text of your pamphlet,[3] explain clearly that the filthy puddle of the Priscillianists again teems with life amongst you. For there is no dirt which has not flowed into this dogma from

[1] *epistola:* the private letter of Turibius to Leo.

[2] *commonitorium:* the detailed statement, under sixteen heads, of Priscillianist errors.

[3] *libellus:* Turibius' refutation of each head.

the notions of all sorts of heretics: since they have scraped together the motley dregs from the mire of earthly opinions and made for themselves a mixture which they alone may swallow whole, though others have tasted little portions of it.

In fact, if all the heresies which have arisen before the time of Priscillian were to be studied carefully, hardly any mistake will be discovered with which this impiety has not been infected; for, not satisfied with accepting the falsehoods of those who have departed from the Gospel under the name of Christ, it has plunged itself also in the shades of heathendom, so as to rest their religious faith and their moral conduct upon the power of demons and the influences of stars through the blasphemous secrets of the magic arts and the empty lies of astrologers. But if this may be believed and taught, no reward will be due for virtues, no punishment for faults, and all the injunctions not only of human laws but of the divine constitutions will be broken down: because there will be no criterion of good or bad actions possible, if a fatal necessity drives the impulses of the mind to either side, and all that men do is through the agency not of men but of stars. To this madness belongs that monstrous division of the whole human body among the twelve signs of the zodiac, so that each part is ruled by a different power; and the creature whom God made in His own image is as much under the domination of the stars as his limbs are connected one with the other. Rightly then our fathers, in whose times this abominable heresy sprang up, promptly pursued it throughout the world, that the blasphemous error might everywhere be driven from the Church: for even the leaders of the world so abhorred this profane folly that they laid low its originator, with most of his disciples, by the sword of the public laws. For they saw that all desire for honourable conduct was removed, all marriage ties undone, and the divine and the human law simultaneously undermined, if it were allowed for men of this kind to live anywhere under such a creed. And this rigorous treatment was for long a help to the Church's law of gentleness, which, although it relies upon the priestly judgment, and shuns blood-stained vengeance, yet is assisted by the stern decrees of Christian princes at times when men, who dread bodily punishment, have recourse to merely

spiritual correction. But since many provinces have been taken up with the invasions of the enemy, the carrying out of the laws also has been suspended by these stormy wars. And since intercourse came to be difficult among God's priests and meetings rare, secret treachery was free to act through the general disorder, and was roused to the upsetting of many minds by those very ills which ought to have counteracted it. But which of the peoples and how many of them are free from the contagion of this plague in a district where, as you point out, dear brother, the minds even of certain priests have sickened of this deadly disease; and they who were believed the necessary quellers of falsehood and champions of the Truth are the very ones through whom the Gospel of God is enthralled to the teaching of Priscillian: so that the fidelity of the holy volumes being distorted to profane meanings, under the names of prophets and apostles, is proclaimed not that which the Holy Spirit has taught, but what the devil's servant has inserted? Therefore, as you, beloved, with all the faithful diligence in your power, have dealt under sixteen heads with these already condemned opinions, we also subject them once more to a strict examination,—lest any of these blasphemies should be thought either bearable or doubtful.

(1) And so under the first head is shown what unholy views they hold about the divine Trinity; they affirm that the person of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost is one and the same, as if the same God were named now Father, now Son, and now Holy Ghost; and as if He who begat were not one, He who was begotten another, and He who proceeded from both yet another; but an undivided unity must be understood, spoken of under three names, indeed, but not consisting of three Persons. . . . This species of blasphemy they borrow from Sabellius. . . .

(2) Under the second head is displayed their foolish and empty fancy about the issue of certain virtues from God which He began to possess, and which were posterior to God in His own essence. In this again they support the Arians' mistake, who say that the Father is prior to the Son. . . .

(3) Again, the third head is concerned with these same folks' impious assertion that the Son of God is called

"Only-begotten" for this reason, that He alone was born of a virgin. . . . They would not have dared to say this had they not drunk the poison of Paul of Samosata and Photinus, who said that our Lord Jesus Christ did not exist till He was born of the Virgin Mary. . . .

(4) The fourth head deals with the fact that the birthday of Christ, which the Catholic Church thinks highly of as the occasion of His taking on Him true man, because "the Word became flesh and dwelt in us," is not truly honoured by these men, though they make a show of honouring it, for they fast on that day, as they do also on the Lord's Day, which is the day of Christ's resurrection. No doubt they do this because they do not truly believe that Christ the Lord was born in true man's nature, but maintain that by a sort of illusion there was an appearance of what was not a reality, following the views of Cerdo and Marcion, and being in complete agreement with their kinsfolk the Manichæans. . . .

(5) The fifth head refers to their assertion that man's soul is part of the Divine being, and that the nature of our human state does not differ from its Creator's nature. This impious view has its source in the opinions of certain philosophers, and the Manichæans; and the Catholic Faith condemns it, knowing that nothing that is made is so sublime and so supreme as that its nature should be itself God. . . .

(6) The sixth notice points out that they say the devil was never good, and that his nature is not God's handiwork, but that he came forth out of chaos and darkness. . . . God, who is the Maker of the Universe, made nothing that was not good. . . .

(7) In the seventh place follows their condemnation of marriages, and their horror of begetting children; in which, as in almost all points, they agree with the Manichæans' impiety. . . .

(8) Their eighth point is that the formation of men's bodies is the device of the devil, and that the seed of conception is shaped by the aid of demons in the wombs of women; and that for this reason the resurrection of the flesh is not to be believed. . . . This unclean poison flows from the fount of Manichæan wickedness. . . .

(9) The ninth notice declares that they say the sons of promise are born indeed of women, but conceived by the Holy Spirit, lest that offspring which is born of carnal seed should seem to share in God's estate. This is repugnant . . . to the Catholic Faith. . . .

(10) Under the tenth head they are reported as asserting that the souls which are placed in men's bodies have previously been without body and have sinned in their heavenly habitation, and for this reason, having fallen from their higher estate to a lower one, alight upon ruling spirits of divers qualities, and after passing through a succession of powers of the air and stars, some fiercer, some milder, are enclosed in bodies of different sorts and conditions, so that whatever variety and inequality is meted out to us in this life seems the result of previous causes. This blasphemous fable they have woven for themselves out of many persons' errors; but all of them the Catholic Faith cuts off from union with its body, persistently and truthfully proclaiming that men's souls did not exist until they were breathed into their bodies, and that they were not there implanted by any other than God, who is the Creator both of the souls and the bodies. . . .

(11) Their eleventh blasphemy is that in which they suppose that both the souls and the bodies of men are under the influence of fatal stars. . . . For those who follow such pursuits there is no place in the Catholic Church. . . .

(12) The twelfth of these points is this, that they map out the parts of the soul under certain powers, and the limbs of the body under others. . . . In all these things they entangle themselves in an inextricable maze, not listening to the Apostle when he says, "See that no man deceive you through philosophy and vain deceit."[1] . . .

(13) In the thirteenth place comes their assertion that the whole body of the canonical Scriptures is to be accepted under the names of the patriarchs; because those twelve virtues which work the reformation of the inner man are pointed out in their names, and without this knowledge no soul can effect its reformation. . . . This wicked delusion the Christian wisdom holds in disdain. . . .

[1] Col. ii. 8.

(14) Under the fourteenth heading their sentiments upon the state of the body are stated, viz. that it is, on account of its earthly properties, held under the power of stars and constellations; and that many things are found in the holy Books which have reference to the outer man. . . . These stories are invented. . . .

(15) And on this subject your remarks under the fifteenth head make a complaint. . . . We too have found many of their copies most corrupt, though they are entitled canonical. . . . The apocryphal Scriptures, which, under the names of the Apostles, form a nursery-ground for many falsehoods are . . . to be . . . taken away . . . and burnt. . . .

(16) Under the last head a just complaint was made that the treatises of Dictinius which he wrote in agreement with Priscillian's tenets were read by many with veneration; for if they think any respect is due to Dictinius' memory, they ought to admire his restoration rather than his fall. . . . *N. & P.-N.F.* xii. 20–5.

No. 229.—St. Patrick, 432–†61, his *Confession*

From *Libri S. Patricii: Confessio*, §§ 1, 2, 23, 26, 37, 38, 41, 62.

[§ 1] I, Patrick the sinner, am the most illiterate and the least of all the faithful, and contemptible in the eyes of very many.

My father was Calpurnius, a deacon, one of the sons of Potitus, a presbyter, who belonged to the village of Banavem Taberniæ. Now he had a small farm hard by, where I was taken captive.

I was then about sixteen years of age. I knew not the true God; and I went into captivity to Ireland with many thousands of persons, according to our deserts, because we departed away from God, and kept not his commandments, and were not obedient to our priests, who used to admonish us for our salvation. And the Lord *poured upon* us *the fury of his anger*,[1] and scattered us amongst many heathen, even *unto the ends of the earth*,[2] where now my littleness may be seen amongst men of another nation.

[1] Isa. xlii. 25. [2] Acts xiii. 47.

[§ 2] And there the Lord *opened the understanding*[1] of my unbelief that, even though late, I might call my faults to remembrance, and that I might *turn with all my heart*[2] to the Lord my God, who *regarded* my *low estate*,[3] and pitied the youth of my ignorance, and kept me before I knew him, and before I had discernment or could distinguish between good and evil, and protected me and comforted me as a father does his son.

[§ 23] And again, after a few years, I was in Britain with my kindred, who received me as a son, and in good faith besought me that at all events now, after the great tribulations which I had undergone, I would not depart from them anywhither.

And there verily *I saw in the night visions*[4] a man whose name was Victoricus coming as it were from Ireland with countless letters. And he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter, which was entitled, "The Voice of the Irish"; and while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter, I thought that at that very moment I heard the voice of them who lived beside the wood of Foclut[5] which is nigh unto the western sea. And thus they cried, as with one mouth, "We beseech thee, holy youth, to come and walk among us once more."

And I was exceedingly *broken in heart*,[6] and could read no further. And so I awoke. Thanks be to God that after very many years the Lord granted to them according to their cry.

[§ 26] And when I was assailed by not a few of my elders, who came and [urged] my sins against my laborious episcopate—certainly on that day *I was sore thrust at that I might fall*[7] both here and in eternity. But the Lord graciously spared the stranger and sojourner for his name's sake; and he helped me exceedingly when I was thus trampled on, so that I did not come badly into disgrace and reproach. I pray God *that it may not be laid to their charge*[8] as sin.

[§ 37] And many gifts were proffered me with weeping and tears. And I displeased them, and also, against my

[1] Luke xxiv. 45. [2] Joel ii. 12. [3] Luke i. 48.
[4] Dan. vii. 13. [5] In Co. Mayo. [6] Ps. cix. 16.
[7] Ps. cxviii. 13. [8] 2 Tim. iv. 16.

wish, not a few of my elders; but, God being my guide, in no way did I consent or yield to them. It was not any grace in me, but God who overcometh in me; and he withstood them all, so that I came to the heathen Irish to preach the Gospel, and to endure insults from unbelievers, so as to *hear the reproach of my going abroad*,[1] and [endure] many persecutions *even unto bonds*,[2] and that I should give up my free condition for the profit of others. And if I should be worthy, I am ready [to give] even *my* life *for his name's sake*[3] unhesitatingly and very gladly; and there I desire to spend it even unto death, if the Lord would grant it to me.

[§ 38] Because I am a debtor exceedingly to God, who granted me such great grace that many peoples through me should be regenerated to God and afterwards confirmed, and that clergy should everywhere be ordained for them, for a people newly come to belief, which the Lord took *from the ends of the earth*,[4] as he had in times past promised through his prophets: *The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, As our fathers have got for themselves false idols and there is no profit in them.* And again, *I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldst be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.*[5]

[§ 41] Wherefore then in Ireland they who never had the knowledge of God, but until now only worshipped idols and abominations—how has there been lately *prepared a people* of the Lord, and they are called children of God? Sons and daughters of Scottic chieftains are seen to become monks and virgins of Christ.

[§ 62] But I pray those who believe in and fear God, whosoever shall have vouchsafed to look upon and receive this writing which Patrick the sinner, unlearned verily, composed in Ireland, that no one ever say it was my ignorance that did whatever trifling matter I did, or proved, in accordance with God's good pleasure; but judge ye, and let it be most truly believed that it was the gift of God. And this is my confession before I die.—*St. Patrick: his Writings and Life* (N. J. D. White), pp. 31–51 (S.P.C.K. 1920).

[1] Ecclus. xxix. 29. [2] 2 Tim. ii. 9. [3] 3 John 7.
[4] Jer. xvi. 19. [5] Acts xiii. 47.

No. 230.—St. Patrick, 432-†61 : his Letter to Coroticus

From *Libri S. Patricii : Epistola*, §§ 1, 2, 3, 12, 14, 21.

[§ 1] Patrick the sinner, unlearned verily :—I confess that I am a bishop, appointed by God, in Ireland. Most surely I deem that from God I have received what I am. And so I dwell in the midst of barbarians, a stranger and an exile for the love of God. He is witness if this is so. Not that I desired to utter from my mouth anything so harshly and so roughly ; but I am compelled *by zeal for God* ;[1] and *the truth of Christ* [2] roused me, for the love of my nearest friends and sons, for whom I have *not regarded* my fatherland and kindred, yea, nor my life *even unto death*,[3] if I am worthy. I have vowed to my God to teach the heathen, though I be despised by some.

[§ 2] With my own hand have I written and composed these words to be given and delivered and sent to the soldiers of Coroticus—I do not say to my fellow-citizens or to the fellow-citizens of the holy Romans, but to those who are fellow-citizens of demons because of their evil deeds. Behaving like enemies, they are dead while they live, allies of the Scots and apostate Picts, as though wishing to gorge themselves with blood, the blood of innocent Christians, whom I in countless numbers begot to God and confirmed in Christ.

[§ 3] On the day following that on which the newly baptized, in white array, were anointed—it was still fragrant on their foreheads, while they were cruelly butchered and slaughtered with the sword by the aforesaid persons—I sent a letter with a holy presbyter whom I had taught from his infancy, clergy accompanying him, with a request that they would grant us some of the booty and of the baptized captives whom they had taken. They jeered at them.

[§ 12] Men look askance at me. What shall I do, O Lord ? I am exceedingly despised. Lo, around me are thy sheep torn to pieces and spoiled, and that too by the robbers aforesaid, by the orders of Coroticus with hostile disposition.

Far from the love of God is he who betrays Christians into the hands of the Scots and Picts. *Ravening wolves* [4] have

[1] Rom. x. 2. [2] 2 Cor. xi. 10. [3] Phil. ii. 8. [4] Acts xx. 29.

swallowed up the flock of the Lord which verily in Ireland was growing up excellently with the greatest care. And the sons and daughters of Scottic chieftains who were monks and virgins of Christ I cannot reckon. Wherefore, *be not pleased with the wrong done to the just; even unto hell it shall not please thee.*[1]

[§ 14] This is the custom of the Roman Gauls :—They send holy and fit men to the Franks and other heathen with many thousands of *solidi* to redeem baptized captives. Thou rather slayest and sellest them to a foreign *nation which knows not God.*[2] Thou handest over *the members of Christ*[3] as it were to a brothel. What manner of hope in God hast thou, or has he who consents with thee, or who holds converse with thee in words of flattery? God will judge; for it is written, *Not only those who commit evil, but those that consent with them shall be damned.*[4]

[§ 21] I beseech very much that whatever servant of God be ready, he be the bearer of this letter, that on no account it be suppressed or concealed by any one, but much rather be read in the presence of all the people, yea, in the presence of Coroticus himself; if so be that God may inspire them to amend their lives to God some time; so that even though late they may repent of their impious doings—murderer of the brethren of the Lord!—and may liberate the baptized women captives whom they had taken, so that they may deserve to live to God, and be made whole, both here and in eternity.

Peace—to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Amen.—*St. Patrick: his Writings and Life* (N. J. D. White), pp. 54–60 (S.P.C.K. 1920).

No. 231.—Ravenna, 467

From Apollinaris Sidonius, Bishop of Urbs Arverna (Clermont-Ferrand), 470–†80 : *Epp.* I. v. §§ 5–6 (*Op.* 10 *sq.*; *P.L.* lviii. 453).

[§ 5] The way led past Cremona, over whose proximity the Mantuan Tityrus so deeply sighed. We just touched

[1] Ecclus. ix. 17.
[2] 1 Thess. iv. 5.
[3] 1 Cor. vi. 15.
[4] Rom. i. 32.

at Brescello, to take on Æmilian boatmen in place of our Venetian rowers; and, bearing to the right, soon reached Ravenna, where one would find it hard to say whether Cæsar's road, passing between the two, separates or unites the old town and the new port. The Po divides above the city, part flowing through, part round the place. It is diverted from its main bed by the State dykes, and is thence led in diminished volume through derivative channels, the two halves so disposed that one encompasses and moats the walls, the other penetrates them and brings them trade —[§ 6] an admirable arrangement for commerce in general, and that of provisions in particular. But the drawback is that, with water all about us, we could not quench our thirst; there was neither pure flowing aqueduct, nor filterable cistern, nor trickling source, nor unclouded well. On the one side the salt tides assail the gates; on the other, the movement of vessels stirs the filthy sediment in the canals, or the sluggish flow is fouled by the bargemen's poles, piercing the bottom slime.—O. M. Dalton, *The Letters of Sidonius*, i. 10 *sq.*

No. 232.—A Country Gentleman's Day in Gaul, *c.* 461–7

From Apollinaris Sidonius, *Epp.* II. ix. §§ 1–10 (*Op.* 47–50; *P.L.* lviii. 483–5).

[§ 1] . . . I have passed the most delightful time in the most beautiful country in the company of Tonantius Ferreolus and Apollinaris, the most charming hosts in the world. Their estates march together; their houses are not far apart; and the extent of intervening ground is just too far for a walk, and just too short to make the ride worth while. The hills above the houses are under vines and olives. . . . The view from one villa is over a wide flat country, that from the other over woodland; yet different though their situations are, the eye derives equal pleasure from both.

[§ 2] But enough of sites; I have now to unfold the order of my entertainment. . . .

[§ 4] From the first moment we were hurried from one pleasure to another. Hardly had we entered the vestibule of either house when we saw two opposed pairs of partners

in the ball-game, repeating each other's movements as they turned in wheeling circles; in another place one heard the rattle of dice-boxes and the shouts of the contending players; in yet another were books in abundance ready to your hand; you might have imagined yourself among the shelves of some grammarian, or the tiers of the Athenæum, or a bookseller's towering cases. They were so arranged that the devotional works were near the ladies' seats; where the master sat were those ennobled by the great style of Roman eloquence. . . .

[§ 5] Tyrannius Rufinus' interpretation of Adamantius Origen was eagerly examined by the readers of theology amongst us; according to our several points of view, we had different reasons to give for the censure of this Father by certain of the clergy as too trenchant a controversialist and best avoided by the prudent; but the translation is so literal and yet renders the spirit of the work so well that neither Apuleius' version of Plato's *Phædo* nor Cicero's of the *Ctesiphon* of Demosthenes is more admirably adapted to the use and rule of our Latin tongue.

[§ 6] While we were engaged in these discussions as fancy prompted each, appears an envoy from the cook to warn us that the moment of bodily refreshment is at hand. And in fact the fifth hour had just elapsed, proving that the man was punctual, had properly marked the advance of the hours upon the water-clock. The dinner was short but abundant, served in the fashion affected in senatorial houses, where inveterate usage prescribes numerous courses on very few dishes, though, to afford variety, roast alternated with stew. Amusing and instructive anecdotes accompanied our potations; wit went with the one sort, and learning with the other. To be brief, we were entertained with decorum, refinement and good cheer.

[§ 7] After dinner, if we were at Vorocingus (the name of the one estate), we walked over to our quarters and our own belongings. If at Prusianum, as the other is called, [the young] Tonantius and his brothers turned out of their beds for us because we could not be always dragging our gear about; they are surely the elect among the nobles of our own age. The siesta over, we took a short ride to sharpen our jaded appetites for supper.

[§ 8] Both of our hosts had baths in their houses, but in neither did they happen to be available. . . .

[§ 10] I am on the point of leaving here, and hope, by Christ's grace, that we shall meet very shortly. . . . Farewell.—*The Letters of Sidonius*, i. 49 *sqq.*: tr. O. M. Dalton.

No. 233.—The Vigil and Mass of St. Just[1] at Lyons, September 2, 461–7

From Apollinaris Sidonius, *Epp.* V. xvii. §§ 3–6, 10 (*Op.* 148–51; *P.L.* lviii 547–9).

[§ 3] We had assembled at the tomb of St. Justus; the annual procession before daylight was over, attended by a vast crowd of both sexes which even that great church could not hold with all its cincture of galleries. After Vigils were ended, chanted alternately by the monks and clerics, the congregation separated; we could not go far off, as we had to be at hand for the next service at Tierce, when the priests were to celebrate the Mass.

[§ 4] We felt oppressed by the crowding in a confined space, and by the great number of lights which had been brought in. It was still almost summer, and the night was so sultry that it suffocated us, imprisoned as we were in that steaming atmosphere; only the first freshness of the autumn dawn brought some welcome relief. Groups of the different classes dispersed in various directions, the principal citizens assembling at the monument of Syagrius, which is hardly a bowshot from the church. Some of us sat down under an old vine, the stems of which were trained trellis-wise and covered with leaves and drooping fronds; others sat on the grass, odorous with the scent of flowers.

[§ 4] The talk was enlivened with amusing jests and pleasantries; above all (and what a blessed thing it was!), there was not a word about officials or taxes, not an informer among us to betray, not a syllable worth betrayal. Every one was free to tell any story worth relating and of a proper tenor; it was a most appreciative audience; the vein of gaiety was not allowed to spoil the distinct relation of each tale. After a time, we felt a certain slackness

[1] St. Just was Bishop of Lyons, †*c.* 390: his feast was on September 2.

through keeping still so long, and we voted for some more active amusement.

[§ 6] We soon split into two groups according to our ages; one shouted for the ball, the other for the board-game, both of which were to be had. I was the leader of the ball-players: you know that book and ball are my twin companions. In the other group, the chief figure was our brother Domnicius, that most engaging and attractive of men; there he was, rattling some dice which he had got hold of, as if he sounded a trumpet-call to play. The rest of us had a great game with a party of students, doing our best at the healthful exercise with limbs which sedentary occupations made much too stiff for running. . . .

[§ 10] . . . They came to tell us that our time was up, and that the bishop was leaving his retreat: we therefore rose to go [*sc.* to Mass].—*The Letters of Sidonius*, ii. 71–4: tr. O. M. Dalton.

No. 234.—The Emperor Basiliscus, 475–7; *The Encyclical*, 476

From Evagrius, *H.E.* iii. 4 (*Op.* 335–7; *P.G.* lxxxvi. 2599–2604).

The Emperor Cæsar Basiliscus, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, and Marcus the most illustrious Cæsar, to Timotheus, Archbishop of the great see of the Alexandrians, most reverend and beloved of God.

It has ever been our pleasure that, whatever laws have been decreed in behalf of the true and apostolic faith by those our pious predecessors who have maintained the true service of the blessed and undecaying and life-giving Trinity, should never be inoperative: but we are rather disposed to enounce them as of our own enactment. We, preferring piety and zeal in the cause of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ who created and has made us glorious, before all diligence in human affairs, and being further convinced that unity among the flocks of Christ is the preservation of ourselves and our subjects, the stout foundation and unshaken bulwark of our empire; being by these considerations moved with godly zeal, and offering to our

God and Saviour Jesus Christ the unity of the Holy Church as the firstfruits of our reign, ordain that the basis and settlement of human felicity, namely, the symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers who were assembled, in concert with the Holy Spirit, at Nicæa, into which both ourselves and all our believing predecessors were baptized; that this alone should have reception and authority with the orthodox people in all the most holy churches of God, as the only formulary of the right faith, and sufficient for the utter destruction of every heresy, and for the complete unity of the holy churches of God; without prejudice, notwithstanding, to the force of the acts of the hundred and fifty holy Fathers assembled in this Imperial city, in confirmation of the sacred symbol itself, and in condemnation of those who blasphemed against the Holy Ghost; as well as of all that were passed in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians against the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently favoured his opinions. But the proceedings which have disturbed the unity and order of the holy churches of God, and the peace of the whole world, that is to say, the so-called *Tome* of Leo, and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers, whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse; we ordain that these shall be anathematized both here and everywhere by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found, inasmuch as it was so enjoined respecting all heretical doctrines by our predecessors, of pious and blessed memory, Constantine, and Theodosius the younger; and that, having thus been rendered null, they shall be utterly expelled from the one and only Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church, as superseding the everlasting and saving definitions of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and those of the blessed Fathers who, by the Holy Spirit, made their decision at Ephesus; that no one, in short, either of the priesthood or of the laity, shall be allowed to deviate from that most sacred constitution of the holy symbol; and that together with all the innovations upon the sacred symbol which were enacted at Chalcedon

there be also anathematized the heresy of those who do not confess that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate, and made man of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, Mother of God, but, according to their strange conceit, either from heaven or in mere phantasy and seeming; and, in short, every heresy, and whatever other innovation, in respect either of thought or language, has been devised in violation of the sacred symbol in any manner or at any time or place. And, inasmuch as it is the special task of kingly providence to furnish their subjects, with forecasting deliberation, abundant means of security, not only for the present but for the future time, we ordain that the most holy bishops in every place shall subscribe to this our Sacred Circular Epistle when exhibited to them, as a distinct declaration that they are indeed ruled by the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers alone—which the hundred and fifty holy Fathers confirmed; as it was also defined by the most holy Fathers who subsequently assembled in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians, that the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers ought to be the only rule—while they anathematize every stumbling-block erected at Chalcedon to the faith of the orthodox people and utterly eject them from the churches, as an impediment to the general happiness and our own. Those, moreover, who, after the issuing of these our sacred letters, which we trust to have been uttered in accordance with the will of God, in an endeavour to accomplish that unity which all desire for the holy churches of God, shall attempt to bring forward or so much as to name the innovation upon the faith which was enacted at Chalcedon, either in discourse or instruction or writing, in whatever manner, place or time; with respect to those persons, as being the cause of confusion and tumult in the churches of God and among the whole of our subjects, and enemies to God and our safety, we command (in accordance with the laws ordained by our predecessor Theodosius, of blessed and sacred memory, against such sort of evil designs, which laws are subjoined to this our Sacred Circular) that if bishops or clergy, they be deposed; if monks or laics, that they be subjected to banishment and every mode of

confiscation, and the severest penalties; for so the holy and consubstantial Trinity, the Creator and Vivifier of the universe, which has ever been adored by our Piety, receiving at the present time service at our hands in the destruction of the before-mentioned tares and the confirmation of the true and apostolic traditions of the holy symbol, and being thereby rendered favourable and gracious to our souls and to all our subjects, shall ever aid us in the exercise of our sway, and preserve the peace of the world.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, vi. 121–6.

No. 235.—The Emperor Zeno, 474–†91; his *Henoticon*, 482

From Evagrius, *H.E.* iii. 14 (*Op.* 345–8; *P.G.* lxxxvi. 2619–26).

The Emperor Cæsar Zeno, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, to the most reverend bishops and clergy, and to the monks and laity throughout Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.

Being assured that the origin and constitution, the might and invincible defence of our sovereignty is the only right and true faith, which, through divine inspiration, the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers assembled at Nicæa set forth, and the hundred and fifty holy Fathers who, in like manner met at Constantinople, confirmed; we night and day employ every means of prayer, of zealous pains, and of laws, that the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in every place may be multiplied, the uncorruptible and immortal mother of our sceptre; and that the pious laity, continuing in peace and unanimity with respect to God, may, together with the bishops, highly beloved of God, the most pious clergy, the archimandrites and monks, offer up acceptably their supplications in behalf of our sovereignty. So long as our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who was incarnate and born of Mary, the Holy Virgin and Mother of God, approves and readily accepts our concordant glorification and service, the power of our enemies will be crushed and swept away, and peace with its blessing, kindly temperature, abundant produce, and whatever is beneficial to man, will be liberally bestowed. Since then the irreprehensible faith

is the preserver both of ourselves and the Roman weal, petitions have been offered to us from pious archimandrites and hermits, and other venerable persons, imploring us with tears that unity should be procured for the churches, and the limbs should be knit together, which the enemy of all good has of old time been eagerly bent upon severing, under a consciousness that defeat will befall him whenever he assails the body while in an entire condition. For, since it happens that of the unnumbered generations which during the lapse of so many years time has withdrawn from life, some have departed deprived of the laver of regeneration, and others have been borne away on the inevitable journey of man, without having partaken in the divine Communion; and innumerable murders have also been perpetrated; and not only the earth, but the very air has been defiled by a multitude of blood-shedding; that this state of things might be transformed into good, who would not pray? For this reason we were anxious that you should be informed, that we and the churches in every quarter neither have held, nor do we or shall we hold, nor are we aware of persons who hold, any other symbol or lesson or definition of faith or creed than the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers, which the aforesaid hundred and fifty holy Fathers confirmed; and if any person does hold such, we deem him an alien; for we are confident that this symbol alone is, as we said, the preserver of our sovereignty, and on their reception of this alone are all the people baptized when desirous of the saving illumination: which symbol all the holy Fathers assembled at Ephesus also followed, who further passed sentence of deposition on the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently held his sentiments: which Nestorius we also anathematize, together with Eutyches and all who entertain opinions contrary to those above-mentioned, receiving at the same time the twelve chapters of Cyril, of holy memory, formerly Archbishop of the holy Catholic church of the Alexandrians. We moreover, confess that the Only-begotten Son of God, Himself God, who truly assumed manhood, namely our Lord Jesus Christ, who is consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and consubstantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; that He, having descended and

become incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary, the Virgin and Mother of God, is one and not two; for we affirm that both His miracles, and the sufferings which He voluntarily endured in the flesh, are those of a single Person; for we do in no degree admit those who either make a division or a confusion, or introduce a phantom; inasmuch as His truly sinless incarnation from the Mother of God did not produce an addition of a Son, because the Holy Trinity continued a Trinity even when one member of the Trinity, God the Word, became incarnate. Knowing then that neither the holy orthodox churches in all parts, nor the priests highly beloved of God who are at their head, nor our own sovereignty, have allowed, or do allow, any other symbol or definition of faith than the before-mentioned holy lesson, we have united ourselves thereto without hesitation. And these things we write not as setting forth a new form of faith, but for your assurance; and every one who has held or holds any other opinion, either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematize; and specially the before-mentioned Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who maintain their doctrines. Link yourselves, therefore, to the spiritual mother the Church, and in her enjoy the same communion with us, according to the aforesaid one and only definition of the faith, namely, that of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers. For your all-holy Mother, the Church, waits to embrace you as true children, and longs to hear your loved voice, so long withheld. Speed yourselves, therefore; for, by so doing, you will both draw towards yourselves the favour of our Master and Saviour and God, Jesus Christ, and be commended by our sovereignty.—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, vi. 136–9.

No. 236.—The Creed of the Church in Persia, February 486

From the Synod of Acacius, Patriarch of the East, 485–†96; *ap.* J B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 302.

The faith of us all should be in one confession of one divine Nature in three perfect *Qnumi*: one true and eternal Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit: the confession by

which heathenism is conquered and Judaism is rebuked. Further, concerning the Incarnation [lit. dispensation] of Christ, our faith ought to be in the confession of two Natures of Godhead and Manhood; and let no one of us venture to introduce mixture, confusion or commixture into the diversities of these two Natures, seeing that the Godhead remains unchanged in its own characteristics, and the Humanity in its own; and we join the diversities of the two natures in one majesty and adoration, because of the perfect and inseparable conjoining[1] that existed between the Godhead and the Manhood.

If any one thinks, or teaches others, that suffering or change can attach themselves to the Godhead of the Lord, or if he does not keep to the confession of perfect God and perfect Man in the unity of the Person (*Parsopa*) of our Redeemer, let him be anathema.—W. A. Wigram, *The Assyrian Church*, 269.

No. 237.—The Charity of Deogratias, Archbishop of Carthage, 454–†77

From Victor, Bishop of Vita, *Historia persecutionis Africanæ provinciæ* [486], i. §§ 24–6 (*C.S.E.L.* vii. 11 *sq.*).

[§ 24] After this it came to pass that, at the request of the Emperor Valentinian [III.], after a long and silent interval, a bishop of the name of Deogratias was ordained for the church of Carthage. If any one were to try bit by bit to enumerate the things that the Lord did by him, words would fail him before he could tell anything. No sooner had he been made bishop than, since our sins demanded it, Gaiseric, in the fifteenth year of his reign, captured Rome, that once noble and famous city; and, at the same time, brought captive from thence the riches of many kings, with their peoples.

[§ 25] When the multitude of captives reached the shores of Africa, the Vandals and Moors divided up the vast crowds of people; and, as is the way with barbarians, separated husbands from wives and children from parents. Immediately that man, so full of God and so dear to Him, set about to sell all the gold and silver vessels of service, and

[1] συναφεία.

set them free from enslavement to the barbarians: in order that marriage might remain undefiled and children be restored to their parents. And since there were no places big enough to accommodate so large a multitude, he assigned two famous churches, the Basilica Fausti and the Basilica Novarum, furnishing them with beds and bedding, and arranging day by day how much each person should receive in proportion to his need.

[§ 26] And since many were in distress owing to their inexperience of a voyage by sea and to the cruelty of captivity, there was no small number of sick people among them. Like a devoted nurse, that sainted bishop went the round of them, every moment, with doctors and food; so that the condition of each was looked into, and every man's need supplied, in his presence. Not even at night did he take a rest from this work of mercy; but he kept on going from bed to bed, in his anxiety to know how each was doing. In fact, he gave himself up to the task so entirely as to spare neither his wearied limbs nor his poor old age.—K.

No. 238.—The Catholic Doctrine of Grace, 529

From the Council of Orange, July 3, 529 (Mansi, viii. 711–9).

(1) Whoever says that by the offence of the disobedience of Adam not the entire man, that is, in body and soul, was changed for the worse, but that the freedom of his soul remained uninjured, and his body only was subject to corruption, has been deceived by the error of Pelagius and opposes Scripture [Ezek. xviii. 20; Rom. vi. 16; 2 Pet. ii. 19].

(2) Whoever asserts that the transgression of Adam injured himself only, and not his offspring, or that death only of the body, which is the penalty of sin, but not also sin, which is the death of the soul passed by one man to the entire human race, wrongs God and contradicts the Apostle [Rom. v. 12].

(3) Whoever says that the grace of God can be bestowed in reply to human petition, but not that the grace brings it about so that it is asked for by us, contradicts Isaiah the prophet and the Apostle [Isa. lxv. 1; Rom. x. 20].

(4) Whoever contends that our will, to be set free from sin, may anticipate God's action, and shall not confess that it is brought about by the infusion of the Holy Spirit and His operation in us that we wish to be set free, resists that same Holy Spirit speaking through Solomon: "The will is prepared by the Lord" [Prov. viii. 35, LXX.] and the Apostle [Phil. ii. 13].

(5) Whoever says the increase, as also the beginning, of faith and the desire of believing by which we believe in Him who justifies the impious and we come to the birth of holy Baptism, is not by the free gift of grace, that is, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit turning our will from unbelief to belief, from impiety to piety, but belongs naturally to us, is declared an adversary of the Apostolic preaching [Phil. i. 6; Ephes. ii. 8]. For they say that faith by which we believe in God is natural, and they declare that all those who are strangers to the Church of Christ in some way are believing.

(6) Whoever says that to us who, without the grace of God, believe, will, desire, attempt, struggle for, watch, strive for, demand, ask, knock, mercy is divinely bestowed, and does not rather confess that it is brought about by the infusion and inspiration of the Holy Spirit in us that believe, will, and do all these things as we ought, and annexes the help of grace to human humility and obedience, and does not admit that it is the gift of that same grace that we are obedient and humble, opposes the Apostle [1 Cor. iv. 7].

(7) Whoever asserts that by the force of nature we can rightly think or choose anything good which pertains to eternal life, or be saved, that is, assent to the evangelical preaching, without the illumination of the Holy Spirit who gives to all grace to assent to and believe the truth, is deceived by an heretical spirit, not understanding the voice of the Lord [John xv. 5] and of the Apostle [2 Cor. iii. 5].

(8) Whoever asserts that some by mercy, others by free-will, which in all who have been born since the transgression of the first man, is evidently corrupt, is proved an alien from the faith. For he asserts that the free-will of all has not been weakened by the sin of the first man, or he evidently thinks that it has been so injured that some, however, are able without the revelation of God to attain

by their own power to the mystery of eternal salvation. Because the Lord Himself shows how false this is, who declares that not some but no one was able to come to Him unless the Father drew him [John vi. 4], and said so to Peter [Matt. xvi. 17] and the Apostle [1 Cor. xii. 13].[1]

. . . . . .

And so according to the above sentences of the Holy Scriptures and definitions of ancient Fathers, by God's aid, we believe that we ought to believe and teach :—

That by the sin of the first man, free-will was so turned aside and weakened that afterward no one is able to love God as he ought, or believe in God, or do anything for God, which is good, except the grace of the divine mercy comes first to [*præveniret*] him [Phil. i. 6, 29 ; Ephes. ii. 8 ; 1 Cor. iv. 7, vii. 25 ; James i. 17 ; John iii. 27].

We also believe this to be according to the Catholic Faith that grace having been received in Baptism, all who have been baptized can and ought, by the aid and support of Christ, to perform those things which belong to the salvation of the soul, if they labour faithfully.

But not only do we not believe that some have been predestinated to evil by the divine power, but also, if there are any who wish to believe so evil a thing, we say to them, with all detestation, anathema.

Also this we profitably confess and believe, that in every good we do not begin and afterward are assisted by the mercy of God, but without any good desert preceding, He first inspires in us faith and love in Him, so that we both faithfully seek the sacrament of Baptism, and after Baptism with His help are able to perform those things which are pleasing to Him. Whence it is most certainly to be believed that in the case of that thief, whom the Lord called to the fatherland of paradise, and Cornelius the Centurion, to

[1] Here follow seventeen [9–25] "articles in less formal style, designed to exhibit the chief aspects of the one great idea, that man's spiritual activity depends throughout on grace, as originating, assisting and sustaining it to the end."—W. Bright, *Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine*, lxv. Of these the best known is No. 12 : "God loves us for what we are on the way to become by His gift, not for what we are by our merit." From Aug., *De Trinitate*, I. x. § 21 (*Op.* viii. 763 F.).

whom an angel of the Lord was sent, and Zacchæus, who was worthy of receiving the Lord Himself, their so wonderful faith was not of nature, but was the gift of the divine bounty.

And because we desire and wish our definition of the ancient Fathers, written above, to be a medicine not only for the clergy but also for the laity, it has been decided that the illustrious and noble men, who have assembled with us at the aforesaid festival,[1] shall subscribe it with their own hand.—J. C. Ayers, *A Source-Book for Ancient Church History*, 473–6.

[1] The dedication of a new church at Orange, July 3, 529.

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